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The study of crime scene profiling efforts elicits two important patterns of sexual murders: organized and disorganized. These law enforcement categories have been derived from evidence and patterns of evidence at the site of sexual murders. The study then explores victim information and its relationship to the two categories. In particular, we explored victim response to the offender in terms of no resistance and active resistance to the assault. We found that regardless of type of resistance, active or passive, and category of offender, death ensued. When we examined nine victims who survived, the category of offender was not the predictor, rather, "chance happenings" preserved life.

Sexual Killers and Their Victims

Identifying Patterns Through Crime Scene Analysis

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Interpersonal violence spans a wide range of human behaviors of which murder represents one of the terminal disruptions in the equilibrium of a society. The tragedy of murder and its irrevocable effect on victims and families is often neglected in the focus on the mur-

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derers. This interactional component between victim and murderer and its social impact needs to be addressed constantly if there is to be a balance in the understanding of such violence.

The voluminous scholarly and professional literature on murder traditionally has focused on the murderer and has presented a variety of ways to classify murderers (Lester, 1973; Wolfgang, 1958). Simon (1977) emphasizes that identifying personality profile types is crucial to the task of offender treatment and prediction of dangerousness for the prevention of murder. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) identify two basic behaviors of murderers: (1) premeditated, intentional, felonious, planned, and rational murder; and (2) killing in the heat of passion or slaying as a result of intent to do harm, but without a specific intent to kill. They observe, "Many authors fail to distinguish between two basic types of murderers" and clarify that their concentration is on the second type, the "passionate" killer. In contrast, the type of killer frequently profiled by agents at the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit, who investigate unsolved murders at the request of local law enforcement officials, are those who not only plan their murders but who repeat their crimes.

The professional literature regarding murder victims has been relatively silent. When the interpersonal aspects of murder have been considered, victims are conceptualized in limited ways. One of the most pervasive ways of analyzing victims has been through the concept of victim precipitation and victim participation, a concept explored by sociologists and criminologists such as von Hentig (1940), Mendelsohn (1963), Wolfgang (1958), and Schafer (1968).

The victim is one of the causes of a crime, suggests Hans von Hentig. In 1948 he stated, "In a sense the victim shapes and molds the criminal. . . . To know one we must be acquainted with the complementary partner." Mendelsohn (1963, pp. 239-241), in writing of the biopsychosocial personality of the accused and of the victim, elaborated on the doctrine of victimology while preparing for the trial of a man who, had it not been for "the perversity of his former wife," would never have been found guilty of murdering her and her lover. Wolfgang (1958) has utilized the concept of victim precipitation in his well-known studies of criminal homicide, applying it to those cases in which the "role of the victim is characterized by his having

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been the first in the homicide drama to use physical force directed against his subsequent slayer" (p. 252). An example is the husband who attacked his wife with a milk bottle, a brick, and a piece of concrete block while she was making breakfast. Having a butcher knife in her hand, she stabbed him. Wolfgang (1958) found victim-preciptated homicides represented 26% of a total of 588 homicides studied through police reports in Philadelphia. Adding to this concept, Schafer (1968, p. 152) concluded that "it is far from true that all crimes 'happen' to be committed; often the victim's negligence, precipitative action, or provocation contributes to the genesis or performance of a crime."

In contrast to this view, FBI profilers, in their work of analyzing crime scenes for clues leading to a suspect in an unsolved homicide, took a different approach. They did not find it helpful to perceive the victim as provoking the murder. Rather, the agents tried to be aware of how the offender thought and, subsequently, how he would respond to key characteristics of a victim. For example, a victim wearing a red dress and shoes was perceived by the offender as "asking for it." Such a victim can *not* communicate because the offender selects and interprets "communication cues" of which the victim is totally unaware. The agents understood the offender's habitual reasoning pattern that selects out characteristics of the victim, building a strong justification for violating her. The offender may retrospectively think he went "a bit too far," but will hold to his justifications. If a victim is passive, this is reason for attack; if the victim struggles, this is reason for the attack, and so it goes.

Thus the agents regarded all victim and crime scene information as critical data in their investigations. As a result of their insights into understanding the motivation of the offender, agents at the Behavioral Sciences Unit of the FBI Academy initiated a study of sexual homicide crime scenes and patterns of criminal behavior. Data obtained in the study were examined from the perspectives of crime scene analysis and of victim-murderer interaction.

STUDY

For several years, FBI agents, in profiling sexual murderers by analyzing crime scenes, have typed sexual murderers and the crime scene in terms of an organized/disorganized dichotomy. The premise

for this dichotomy is that facets of the criminal's personality are evident in his offense. Like a fingerprint, the crime scene can be used to aid in identifying the murderer. An organized murderer is one who appears to plan his murders and who displays control (e.g., absence of clues) at the crime scene. The disorganized murderer is less apt to plan, and his crime scenes display haphazard (e.g., presence of clues at crime scene) behavior.

Our study was an exploratory one. Its major objectives were as follows: (1) to test, using statistical inferential procedures, if there are significant behavioral differences at the crime scenes between the crimes committed by organized offenders and those committed by disorganized murderers, and (2) to identify variables that may be useful in profiling murderers and on which the organized and disorganized murderers differ.

For the study to achieve its objectives, the agents first had to classify the 36 participating murderers into the organized/disorganized dichotomy. The dichotomy was as follows: 24 organized (with 97 victims); 12 disorganized (with 21 victims). The method for classification is published elsewhere (Ressler et al., 1985).

Data Set

The data set for the study comprised 36 convicted sexual murderers. Data were collected on 118 victims of these murderers. Of the victims, 9 survived the assaults; thus those 9 assaults were classified as attempted murders.

Each murderer who provided consent was interviewed extensively by FBI agents. The offender was asked questions regarding his background, his behavior at the crime scene, and his postoffense behavior. In addition, FBI agents reviewed criminal records of all participating offenders. The data set for each murderer consisted of the best available data compiled from these two sources.

Due to the complexities of obtaining these data and the confidentiality issues involved, there were "no response" answers to certain questions by some offenders. Although the missing data appear to have little effect on the univariate analysis, any interpretation of the results should consider this situation.

The data for this article were computerized and stored in separate files, which are described below.

(1) Background Information (on offender). This file contains 134 variables pertaining to the murderer. Variables within this file are

classified into eight categories: demographics, physical appearance, lifestyle, family structure, subject's early background history, family problems, subject's discipline/abuse, and subject's sexual history.

(2) Offense 1 (on offense). This file contains variables obtained from the offenses (e.g., the crime scenes). There are 119 variables in this file, which contains information for each separate crime. Variables in this file are classified into four categories: leading to the offense (such as frame of mind, premeditation of crime, and precipitating events); offender dress and residence variables relating to the offender at the time of offense; action during offense variables (such as conversation and behavior toward victim, weapons, and substance abuse); postoffense variables (such as keeping news clippings and visiting crime scene site and victim's grave).

(3) Victim 2 (on offense). This file contains 57 variables and is divided into two subsets: (1) victim characteristics (such as victim age, sex, height, weight, physique, race, complexion, attractiveness, marital status, residence, socioeconomic status, and actions during offense); and (2) offender's actions and behavior during the offense (such as victim mode of death, body position, sexual acts before and after death, postmortem acts, postmortem mutilation, and disposition of the body).

(4) Crime Scene (on offense). This file contains 47 variables and is divided into four categories: (1) vehicle variables relating to the mode of transportation of the offender and the description of his vehicle; (2) use of vehicle variable describing how a vehicle was used in the crime; (3) variables concerning physical evidence (weapon, fingerprints, and so on, left at the crime scene); and (4) distance variables measuring the distance from the crime scene to the victim's home, to the offender's home, and so on.

Data Analysis

Basically, the analysis was directed at testing for statistically significant differences between the organized and disorganized murderers. For variables in the Background Information data file, the unit of analysis was the murderer. The maximum sample sizes were 24 for the organized group of offenders and 12 for the disorganized group. For variables in the other data files, the maximum sample sizes were 97 victims for the organized and 21 victims for the disorganized offenders.

The major statistical analysis procedure employed for the variables was the two independent sample t test (D'Agostino, 1971, 1972; Lunney, 1970). For these variables, the F test for equality of variance was employed to aid in selecting the appropriate standard error for the denominator of the t test and the appropriate degrees of freedom. Variables significant at the .05 level of significance by the t test were identified. The full description of statistical tests employed is reported elsewhere (D'Agostino, 1985). The major findings of differences between crime scene variables and profile variables for organized and disorganized offenders are reported as follows. (See Table 1.)

Crime Scene Differences Between Organized and Disorganized Murderers

We first established that based on data available at the crime scene, there are significant differences between the organized and disorganized offender. However, there are no situations where the organized and disorganized offenders are mutually exclusive. That is, both types of murderers are capable of all types of behavior. For example, an organized murderer might not use a vehicle or a disorganized murderer might use restraints. Summary results are listed below. (See Table 2.)

Organized offenders are more apt to

- plan,
- use restraints,
- commit sexual acts with live victims,
- show or display control of victim (i.e., manipulative, threatening, want victim to show fear), and
- use a vehicle.

Disorganized offenders are more apt to

- leave weapon at the scene,
- position dead body,
- perform sexual acts on dead body,
- keep dead body,
- try to depersonalize the body, and
- not use a vehicle.

In meeting the study's first objective, we demonstrated that there are in fact consistencies and patterns in crime scenes that are objectively quantifiable and that distinguish organized from disorganized

TABLE 1
p Values for t-Test on Crime Scene and Profile Variables: Organized and Disorganized Dichotomy

Crime Scene Variable	*t-Test*	*Profile Variable*	*t-Test*
strategy	.003	intell	.19
achvsex	.002	occup	.0001
restrain	.0001	prefocc	.081
weapnlft	.0001	birthord	.001
sexoff	.034	fathrsta	.058
sadism	.84	sexpref	.011
masochism	.0001	sexact1	.018
unusual2	.001	sexact2	.003
conv1	.002	sexconc1	.026
conv2	.010	sexconc5	.27
conv5	.0001	sexprob2	.007
conv6	.039	frame1	.0004
conv8	.045	frame4	.011
conv9	.0001	frame6	.012
react2	.006	frame7	.002
incraggr	.014	frame9	.0001
alcohol	.002	pstrss1	.009
position	.001	pstrss2	.0005
sb4death	.001	pstrss4	.0002
safdeath	.002	pstrss9	.026
pmact	.007	relat	.020
pmact7	.010	livewith	.013
pmact8	.022	distvres	.0001
torture	.0001	distwrk	.40
tort1	.003	trans	.023
tort4	.002	vecond	.044
tort5	.034	behav3	.026
tort9	.021	behav11	.004
keepbody	.090	behav12	.001
deperson	.050		
vehicle	.056		
ride	.0001		
assaults	.0001		
footps	.034		
weapon	.0001		

NOTE: See Tables 2 and 3 for definitions of terms.

TABLE 2
Crime Scene Variables Differentiating
Organized and Disorganized Sexual Murderers

		Percentage Organized	Percentage Disorganized
ACTIONS DURING OFFENSE			
Offense 1 Data Set			
Strategy/	Planned versus Sudden; Organized more likely to have planned	86 (81)	44 (8)
Achvsex/	Violent act done to achieve sexual relations; Organized less likely	28 (68)	86 (7)
Restrain/	Restraints used; Organized more likely	49 (97)	10 (21)
Weaponlft/	Weapon left at scene of crime; Organized less likely	19 (67)	69 (16)
Sexoff/	Sexual acts committed; Organized more likely to commit sexual acts	76 (85)	46 (13)
Sadism/	Sadistic acts committed; Organized less likely	32 (97)	43 (21)
Masochsm/	Masochistic acts committed; Organized may, disorganized did not	15 (97)	0 (21)
Swallow semen/	Forced victim to do so; Organized may, disorganized did not	10 (97)	0 (21)
Organized shows more control (may be useful for cases in which victim lives)			
Conversation with victim (aspects shown)			
Manipulative		51	14
Threatening		54	25
Inquisitive		45	10
Polite		43	19
Threatens family		4	0
Obtains name		41 (97)	0 (21)
Reactions desired by offender			
Fear/	Wants victim to show fear; Organized more likely	39 (69)	6 (16)
Lie still/	Wants victim to lie still; Organized more likely	29 (65)	0 (16)
Incraggr/	Things done to increase aggression; Organized more likely	62 (55)	20 (10)
Alcohol/	Alcohol use associated with offense; Organized have greater use	56 (97)	19 (21)
Victim 2 Data Set			
Position/	Victim's body positioned; Organized less apt to position body	22 (88)	55 (20)

(continued)

TABLE 2 Continued

		Percentage	
		Organized	*Disorganized*
SB4death/	Sexual acts before death (evidence at scene); Organized more likely	64 (87)	24 (21)
Safdeath/	Sexual acts after death (evidence at scene); Organized less likely	34 (73)	74 (19)
Victim 2 Data Set (continued)			
Pmact/	Postmorten activity with body; Organized less likely	23 (88)	52 (21)
Pmact7/	Inserts foreign objects into victim's anus	0	29
Pmact8/	Inserts foreign objects into victim's vagina	10	38
VEHICLE IN CRIME			
Crime Scene Data Set			
Disorganized is less likely to do anything indicating planning or action with a vehicle.			
Vehicle/	Vehicle involved in crime; Organized is more likely to use a car	85 (93)	62 (21)
Disorganized is unlikely to do the following:			
Offer victim a ride or give victim a ride			
Force victim into car			
Disable victim's car			
Bump victim's car			
Run victim's car off road			
Pretend to have an accident			
Expose himself from car			
Assault victim in car			
Park car and follow victim on foot			
Transport victim from encounter site to crime scene site or disposal site			
Tort/	Postmortem mutilation Organized less likely to mutilate dead victim	27 (88)	76 (21)
Tort1/	Facial mutiliation (disfigurement)	6	43
Tort2/	Genital mutilation	15	33
Tort3/	Breast mutilation	12	29
Tort4/	Disembowelment	2	43
Tort5/	Amputation	17	38
Tort9/	Vampirism (drink blood)	0	24
Keepbody/*	Offender keeps corpse; Organized less likely	14 (88)	33 (21)
Deperson/	Offender tries to depersonalize victim (blindfolding, eradication of features); Organized is less likely	8 (88)	32 (19)
VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS			
Victim 2 Data Set			
Agevic/**	Age of the victim; Organized has younger victims	$\bar{X}$ = 28 (93)	29 (20)

TABLE 2 Continued

			Percentage Organized	Percentage Disorganized
Attract/	Physical attractiveness of the victim; Organized has more attractive victims (1 to 4 scale)	$\bar{X}$ =	1.6 (84)	2.0 (20)
EVIDENCE AT SCENE				
Crime Scene Data Set				
Footps/	Evidence of footprints; Organized less likely to leave footprints		5 (97)	29 (21)
Weapon/	Weapon left (can be used as evidence); Organized less likely to leave weapon for evidence		18 (97)	57 (21)

NOTE: n = numbers in parentheses.
*Level of significance is p = 0.09; not p = 0.05.
**Level of significance is p = 0.06; not p = 0.05.

sexual murderers. The labels "organized" and "disorganized" are not only convenient because of their visual connotations to the crime scene but also have an objectivity to them.

Profile Characteristic Differences Between Organized and Disorganized Murderers

After establishing crime scene differences we identified those characteristics that could be used in a criminal profile. By profile characteristics, we mean those characteristics that identify the subject as an individual. This contrasts with crime scene characteristics, the tangible clues left (or missing) at the crime scene where the body is found. Profile variables can be grouped into four areas: background variables; variables describing the situation of the criminal before the crime (precrime state); variables relating to residence, vehicle use, and distance to crime scene; and postoffense behavior variables.

Based on our analysis, there are different characteristics for the organized and disorganized murderers that may prove useful in developing criminal profiles. The statistically significant variables are summarized below. (See Table 3.)

Organized offenders are more

- intelligent,
- skilled in occupation,

TABLE 3
Profile Characteristics Differentiating
Organized and Disorganized Sexual Murderers

			Percentage	
			Organized	*Disorganized*
BACKGROUND				
Background Data Set				
Demographic				
Intell/	Intelligence; Organized more intelligent	$\bar{X}$ =	5.0 (22)	4.2 (12)
Lifestyle				
Occup/	Occupation; Organized more skilled		50 (24)	0 (11)
Prsfocc/	Preferred occupation is skilled work; Organized is more likely to want to do skilled work		74 (19)	38 (8)
Family Structure				
Birthord/	Birth order; Organized have a higher birth order	X	2.7 (21)	1.3 (12)
Fathsta/	Father's work was unstable; Organized more stable	% unstable	12 (16)	45 (11)
Discipline/Abuse History				
Hostile/	Subject received hostile discipline as a child; Disorganized treated with more hostility			
Sex Acts/Preference				
Sexpref/	Sexual preference (heterosexual versus other); All disorganized were heterosexual	% heterosexual =	74 (23)	100 (11)
Disorganized is more inhibited and more likely to be a compulsive masturbator.				
Sexual Concerns				
Disorganized is more ignorant of sex and has more sexual aversions.				
Sexprob2/	Sexual problems; Disorganized is more likely to have had sexual problems		12 (17)	62 (8)
PRECRIME STATE (leading to offense)				
Offense 1 Data Set				
Frame1/	Angry frame of mind; Organized more angry (1 to 5 scale: 1 = predominant; 5 = not at all)	$\bar{X}$ =	2.0 (77)	3.3 (20)
Frame4/	Nervous; Organized less nervous	$\bar{X}$ = $\bar{X}$ =	3.5 (73)	2.6 (20)
Frame6/	Organized less frightened	$\bar{X}$ =	4.1	3.0
Frame7/	Organized less confused	$\bar{X}$ =	4.4	3.0

TABLE 3 Continued

		Percentage Organized	Percentage Disorganized
Frame8/	Organized more depressed	$\bar{X}$ = 3.4	4.3
Frame9/	Organized calmer, more relaxed	$\bar{X}$ = 3.1	4.3
Precipitating Events/Precipitating Stress			
Organized more likely to have events/stresses due to financial, marital, females, employment before the murder.			
RESIDENCE/VEHICLE DISTANCE			
Offense 1 Data Set			
Relat/	Offender knows who victim is; % know Organized is less likely to know who victim is	14 (93)	47 (17)
Livewith/	Offender lives alone; Organized is less likely to live alone	33 (97)	62 (21)
Crime Scene Data Set			
Distvres/	Distance crime scene to victim's house; Organized more apt to have scene farther away from victim's home than disorganized		
Distores/	Distance crime scene to offender's home; Disorganized lives nearer to crime scene than does organized		
Distowrk/	Distance crime scene to offender's work; Disorganized works nearer to crime scene than does organized		
Trans/	Usual transportation is by driving; Organized more apt to drive	70 (97)	43 (21)
Vecond/	Condition of the vehicle; Organized more apt to have better conditioned vehicle	(62)	(11)
POSTOFFENSE BEHAVIOR			
Offense 1 Data Set			
Behav3/	Follows in media; Organized more likely to follow in media	51 (97)	24 (21)
Behav11/	Change jobs; Organized may change jobs, disorganized did not	8 (97)	0 (21)
Behav12/	Leave town; Organized may leave town, disorganized did not	11 (97)	0 (21)

NOTE: n = numbers in parentheses.

- likely to think out and plan the crime,
- likely to be angry and depressed at the time of the murder,
- likely to have a precipitating stress (financial, marital, female, job)
- likely to have a car in decent condition,
- likely to follow crime events in media, and
- likely to change jobs or leave town.

Disorganized offenders are more likely to

- be low birth order children,
- come from a home with unstable work for the father,
- have been treated with hostility as a child,
- be sexually inhibited and sexually ignorant, and to have sexual aversions,
- have parents with histories of sexual problems,
- have been frightened and confused at the time of the crime,
- know who the victim is,
- live alone, and
- have committed the crime closer to home/work.

The analysis established the existence of variables that may be useful in a criminal profile and for which the organized and disorganized sexual murderers differ and thus met the study's second objective.

VICTIMS OF ORGANIZED AND DISORGANIZED SEXUAL MURDERERS

The organized/disorganized dichotomy provided a new context for analyzing the victim-murderer interaction. Rather than using the traditional view of victim focused on the concept of precipitation and provocation as interpreted by criminologists from police reports of a murder, we examined our data of murdered victims from the perceptions of the offenders who had killed them. Thus our view is on victim response by type of offender analyzed through crime scene evidence.

Data were obtained for 118 victims, 9 of whom survived murder attempts. The majority of victims in the sample were white (93%), female (82%), and not married (80%). Ages for 113 victims ranged from 6 to 73 (ages were unavailable for 5 victims). Of the victims, 14, or 12%, were 14 years old or younger; 83, or 73%, were between 15 and 28 years old; and 16, or 14%, were 30 years or older. Thus the majority of victims (73%) were between ages 15 and 28, which matches the age range for rape victims in general.

The majority of victims (81% or 89) were strangers to the offender; 19%, or 21, were known to the murderer. Nearly half (47%) of the victims were closely related in age to the offender. Over one-third of the cases (37%) involved a younger victim than offender, and in 15% of the cases, the victim was older than the offender. More than half of the victims came from average or advantaged socioeconomic levels (62%), 30% had marginal incomes, and 9% had less than marginal incomes. In over one-third of the cases, the victim had a companion (i.e., was not alone) at the time of the assault; 63% were alone at the time of the murder.

Victim Response to Assailant

Any cause-effect determination in victim resistance reports needs to include the total series of interactions between a victim and assailant, including the dynamic sequencing of victim resistance and offender attack. Offenders were asked to report on their victims' resistance in terms of whether they tried to negotiate verbally, verbally refuse, scream, flee, or fight. The offender was then asked to report his own response to the victim's behavior. It is important to keep in mind that the data represent only the offender's perceptions of the victim-offender interaction.

In the 83 cases with victim response data, 23 victims (28%) acquiesced or offered no resistance as perceived by the offender. As one organized murderer said, "She was compliant. I showed her the gun. She dropped her purse and kind of wobbled a second and got her balance and said, 'All right; I'm not going to say anything. Just don't hurt me.'" A total of 26 (31%) victims tried verbal negotiation; 6 (7%) tried to refuse verbally; 8 (10%) screamed; 4 (5%) tried to escape; and 16 (19%) tried to fight the offender.

Offender reaction to the victim's resistance ranged from no reaction in 31 cases (34%) to violence in 24 (25%) cases. In 14 instances (15%), offenders threatened the victim verbally in response to victim resistance; in 23 cases (25%) offenders increased their aggression. Thus in two-thirds of the cases assailants countered victim resistance; often (50%) it was met with increased force and aggression. (In 9 cases the offender both verbally threatened the victim and increased his aggression.)

Our analysis of cases, in terms of an organized/disorganized dichotomy, found that of the 83 cases with data on victim response to

assailant, the organized offenders had 67 victims and the disorganized had 16. Of the 16 victims of the disorganized offenders, 10 used nonforceful resistance (acquiescence or verbal resistance) and were killed. With the organized offender, 45 out of 67 victims used nonforceful resistance and died as well. In total, 55 out of 83 victims used nonforceful resistance. The data suggest that nonforceful resistance was not a deterrent with either of these offender types.

The interpretation of what is considered forceful resistance is important to clarify. We identified screaming and fleeing as physical (forceful) reactions because offenders specifically cited those victim responses as the reason for their use of increased aggression. With a majority of the offenders interviewed, both physical and verbal (or forceful and nonforceful) resistance played a part in triggering a reaction by the offenders.

An almost equal number of victims in our sample were said to have resisted physically (25) as were said to have made no attempt at resistance (23). Both types of victim actions resulted in death.

The FBI agents interviewed the murderers about deterrence to kill. This information was analyzed in terms of the organized/disorganized dichotomy. Organized murderers, who had a conscious intent based on motive to kill, said that factors such as witnesses and location did not matter because the murder fantasy was so well rehearsed that everything was controlled ("I always killed in my home, and there were no witnesses"). Or as one murderer said, "The victim did not have a choice. Killing was part of my fantasy." Also, the organized murderer with the detailed fantasy to kill either believed that he would never be caught or that he would have to be killed to be stopped. On the other hand, disorganized offenders, who were not consciously aware of their intent to kill, were able to identify factors that might deter their killing. They stated such deterrence factors as being in a populated location, having witnesses in the area, or cooperation from the victim.

Surviving Victims

The surviving victims of murderers in the study provide insights about victim-murderer interactions in the context of the organized and disorganized classification. Victims who survived murder attempts of these killers used the following strategies: hiding from the assailant, jumping out of a car, feigning death, escaping the area,

knocking the weapon out of the assailant's hand, and screaming for assistance. The following two cases illustrate victim-murderer dynamics as well as the crime scene and profile characteristics for each type of murderer.

Victim of an organized murderer. Driving home from work at 10:30 at night, a highway patrol officer passed a car pulled off the road. He noticed the car's dome light was on and the right front door was open; he then saw two people in a scuffle between the car and the woods. As he turned around to investigate, his headlights picked up a woman lying on the ground, fighting violently with a man on top of her. When the police officer approached them, the man dropped the gun he had been holding and held up his hands. The woman picked up the gun and ran to the officer screaming, "He's trying to kill me!" The assailant was handcuffed. He stated, "I just wanted to scare her. I just wanted to tie her up. I don't know if I would have raped her or not, but I might have. I just met her tonight."

The victim related that she worked part-time as a photographer's model and that she had been told by an agency that a man would take her to his studio to take photographs. As they were driving along the freeway, the man pulled over, saying he thought he had a flat tire. He then pulled a gun and said, "Do as I say and I won't hurt you." The victim reported,

> I said I would do what he said if he didn't hurt me. He told me to turn and put my hands behind my back, which I did, and he proceeded to tie my wrist. When he went to tie my hands together, I began to struggle because the gun was not in his hand. During the struggle the man began choking me and said, "I am losing my patience with you. With my record I would just as soon kill you and go the the gas chamber." He pulled the gun and pointed it at me. I grabbed at the gun, screamed, and beat on the window of the car, but no one would stop. We kept struggling, and the gun was discharged with the bullet going through my skirt and grazing my outer right leg. I decided if I got out of the car, someone would see me and stop. I got the door open and we fell out on the ground and we wrestled. Then the officer arrived.

This case example underscores the organized murderer's premeditated approach to the victim and his planned intent to kill. In this case, when the assailant tried to bargain with her by saying she would not be hurt if she cooperated, the victim did not believe him. Although the victim tried negotiating not to be harmed by the assailant, she

strategically waited for an opportunity when he did not have the gun (he had to drop the gun to tie her wrists) and fought at the point when her wrists were being tied. The gun was a straightforward death threat, yet being immobilized increased the woman's vulnerability. Thus she risked fighting despite the gun.

The assailant's preconceived strategies were based on his understanding of a victim's response to a violent death threat. This assailant had three prior victims whom he murdered. His first victim was contacted after he answered an ad in a lonely hearts column; in the second and third cases he posed as a photographer needing a model and went through an agency. He claimed to have raped all three women and then transported them to another location where he strangled them. The bodies were left in a desert; until the man was apprehended for the attempted murder, the bodies remained missing.

The murderer showed most of the characteristics of an organized sexual killer. The murders were carefully planned. The killer used ropes as restraints and raped the women prior to killing them. He also took photographs of his victims before he killed them; their faces showed great fear. The man's car was used to transport the victims to their deaths. The offender's IQ was in the superior range, and he had recently lost his job and moved from the Midwest to the West Coast. He followed newspaper accounts of his crimes.

However, in this case, this victim did not respond as his other victims. As a victim she did not acquiesce to his multiple threats and gun. She fought him. He continued his pursuit of dominance and intent to kill her. He shot her. From his view, the rules suddenly changed. He had a choice. He did not stop his action and say to himself, "This is not fitting in with my scheme," and leave the scene. Instead, he persisted in fitting her into his mode of escalation.

When apprehended by police, the assailant tried the same manipulative ploy with the officer. He claimed that he did not know if he would have raped the woman. The police officer disbelieved this statement (i.e., he believed the assailant had intended to kill) and the assailant was taken into custody.

Victim statement of disorganized murderer. According to the account of the surviving victim, a 21-year-old woman, she and some friends returned to a girlfriend's apartment after dining at a restaurant. After continued conversation and television viewing, everyone left except one of the men. The victim's girlfriend retired to her room

as she had to work the next day; the victim stayed with the man, whom she knew, hoping he would "get the hint and leave." While they were watching television, she fell asleep lying on her side on the couch. When she awoke, she was "feeling funny" and lying on her back. A shadow or a figure at the edge of the couch was moving toward the bedroom. As the victim started to stand up, she saw her girlfriend standing between the bedroom and the living room with the man holding her by the wrist. Her friend was screaming. At about this time, the victim realized her pants were partly down around her thighs, and as she reached down to pull them up, she discovered she was covered with blood. Her face and abdomen had been slashed. The victim ran outside to a neighbor, holding her stomach as she ran. The neighbor let her in and called the police. After the victim was rushed to the hospital, she was found to have suffered multiple cuts and lacerations to her throat and face and extensive abdominal lacerations. The assailant had attempted to disembowel her. Her girlfriend was found lying nude in her bedroom with fatal multiple knife wounds in the abdomen, throat, and arms. A knife with a ten-inch blade (subsequently identified as the murder weapon) was lying near the victim.

The disorganized murderer often kills quickly to maintain control. In this case, control was achieved by the murderer's attack on sleeping women. The bodies were depersonalized through extensive cuttings and stab wounds and the weapon was left at the crime scene. The murderer knew his victims and had a history of masochistic behavior, as evidenced by autoerotic asphyxial practices as an adolescent and adult. The premeditated aspect of the crime was revealed by a letter, found in the murderer's car and dated five days before the murder, that stated that the killer intended to force one of the victims to eviscerate and emasculate him and that she was to be found innocent of the crimes.

One might speculate that the disorganization of the crime escalated when the offender's fantasy did not match the reality of the situation. In his evisceration fantasy, the assailant rehearsed the disemboweling both by assuming the role of victim and of victimizer. There is similarity in intent at the crime scene with the presence of two women. The assailant tries out the evisceration fantasy on the first victim and then attacks his fantasy object. We speculate that between the first and second victim he experienced tension relief from trying out of the fantasy and he escalates the murder behavior to a second target.

The accounts of surviving victims of an organized and a disorganized offender highlight their levels of awareness regarding the dangerousness of the offender. Both women acted independently in response to a situation they perceived as life threatening, and swift police and medical intervention combined with their efforts to save their lives. The killers were remarkable in their intent and assurance that they could successfully carry out their crimes. These men, at least in their own minds, had already rehearsed how they would kill and escape capture. The killing was an integral part of their fantasy. The murderers, in this sense, had consciously planned their murders—one, setting about to target a victim for his plan, and the other utilizing a chance encounter.

DISCUSSION

This article reports on a new typology of sexually oriented murderers based on crime scene evidence and victim resistance strategies and outcome in terms of this new classification. This new typology provides an opportunity to expand and advance the psychosocial framework for studying murderers that is sometimes criticized for its unproved theories, obscure interpretive level, and lack of attention to cultural factors (Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1963) to include measurable, behavioral indicators from analysis of crime scene (e.g., presence or absence of a weapon; injury to victim). This law enforcement typology is based on discrete, verifiable concepts and behavior. It does not rest solely on controversial statements of motivation derived from a complex theory of subconscious motivation. Consequently, the typology has the potential for verifiable classification of acts and visual evidence, enhancing the investigation and study of murderers. For example, to hypothesize that a serial murderer killed a young woman to destroy his internal female identification with his sister is cumbersome and cannot be substantiated by analysis of crime scene evidence or other data available before his capture and evaluation. What is clear is the pattern of killing of young women of a certain age range in a repeated and particular systematic style. Analysis of these data from the crime scene may be useful in understanding the psychosocial nature of the murderer and lead (it is hoped) to his capture.

Additionally, we study victim response to the offender in terms of active versus passive response. We found that regardless of type of resistance (active or passive) or category of offender (organized versus

disorganized), death ensued. When we examined 9 victims who survived, the category of offender was not the predictor, rather, "chance happenings" preserved life.

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In comparing sexual murderers with a history of sex abuse (n = 12) with murderers without such a history (n = 16), findings that approach a level of significance between early sexual abuse and sexual deviations include zoophilia (.06) and sexual sadism (.07) with the ultimate expression of the murderer's perversion being the mutilation of the victim. Murderers with sexual abuse histories report fantasizing about rape earlier than murderers without sexual abuse histories (.05) and report aversion to peer sex in adolescence and adulthood (.05). Significant differences in behavioral indicators comparing across developmental levels of childhood include cruelty to animals (.05), and differences approaching significance include isolation (.09), convulsions (.09), cruelty to children (.09) and assaultive to adults (.09). Significant differences in adolescence between murderers with child sexual abuse history versus nonhistory include running away (.01), sleep problems (.05), daydreams (.05), rebellious (.05), assaultive to adults (.05), and indicators approaching significance include temper tantrums (.09) and self-mutilation (.09).

Murderers Who Rape and Mutilate

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The origins and significance of sexualized acts in the commission of a sexual crime have been implicit themes in the professional literature. Deviant sexual behaviors of offenders have been reported in terms of sexual dysfunction (Groth & Burgess, 1977), sexual

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arousal (Abel, 1982), sadistic fantasies (Brittain, 1970; MacCulloch, Snowden, Wood, & Mills, 1983), and childhood sexual abuse (Groth, 1979; Seghorn, Boucher, & Prentky, in press).

In a report of a British study of 16 male patients diagnosed with psychopathic disorders and hospitalized in a psychiatric facility, the crucial link between sadistic fantasy and behavior is discussed (MacCulloch et al., 1983). The authors raise the following question: If sadistic fantasy has a role in the genesis and maintenance of sadistic behavior, what factors lead some individuals to act out their fantasies? Although they state that they believe any answer would include multiple factors, the authors speculate that factors observed in their subpopulation of 13 sadistic fantasizers include childhood abuse (being tied up and anal assault) and/or adolescent sexual experiences (MacCulloch et al., 1983).

The linking of childhood sexual abuse to subsequent problems and behavior is not a new idea. Freud in 1895 believed that hysterical symptoms of his female patients could be traced to an early traumatic experience and that the trauma was always related to the patient's sexual life. The trauma manifested itself when revived later, usually after puberty, as a memory. However, Freud later reversed his belief in 1905 and said that the sexual seductions his patients reported were not all reports of real events, but fantasies created by the individual (Masson, 1984). This reversal created a major shift in the priorities of psychological investigation. The external, realistic trauma was replaced in importance by infantile sexual wishes and fantasies.

In the past decade clinicians (Herman, 1981) and feminists (Rush, 1980) have challenged this perspective and are now proposing that sexual abuse in childhood may have a common base in a wide range of social problems. The propositions are based on observations of the prevalence of early child sexual abuse found in populations of runaways (Janus, Scanlon, & Price, 1984), juvenile delinquents (Garbarino & Plantz, 1984), prostitutes (James & Meyerding, 1977; Silbert & Pines, 1981), psychiatric patients (Carmen, Rieker, & Mills, 1984), substance abusers (Densen-Gerber, 1975), and sex offenders (Groth, 1979; Seghorn et al., in press).

Although these studies have looked at various populations, none has examined sexual murderers. In an attempt to address the question

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raised by MacCulloch and colleagues about acting out sadistic fantasies, this article discusses results of an assessment of the relationship between sexual abuse in childhood or adolescence and sexual interests, activities, and deviations in convicted sexually oriented killers.

METHOD

Apprehension of a crime suspect is the job of law enforcement. In many crimes, this task is fairly straightforward when a motive (e.g., robbery, revenge) has been identified. However, in many crimes the motive is not readily apparent. FBI agents became involved in assisting local law enforcement agencies in their profiling of unsolved homicide cases in the early 1970s. These crimes, often referred to as "motiveless," were analyzed by the agents to include a sexual component. The agents, sensitive to crime scene information, began their own efforts at classifying characteristics of the murderer by virtue of evidence found at the crime scene. From this evidence they devised a new typology that characterized crime scene patterns as being organized or disorganized. This typology inferred a motivational framework that included expectations, planning, and justification for the criminal action as well as "hunches" regarding postcrime behaviors. As a result, particular emphasis was placed on the thinking patterns dominating the murderer's actions indicating differences in acts committed against the victim and suggesting subcategories of motivational constructs.

The selection of subjects and methodology used to develop the organized/disorganized typology are reported elsewhere (Ressler et al., 1985). Briefly, FBI special agents collected data in various U.S. prisons between 1979 and 1983. The data set for each murderer consisted of the best available data from two types of sources: official records and interviews with the offenders.

To qualify for the study, a murder had to be classified through crime scene observations and evidence as a sexual homicide. These observations included the following: victim attire or lack of attire; exposure of sexual parts of the victim's body; sexual positioning of victim's body; insertion of foreign objects into victim's body cavities; or evidence of sexual intercourse. Primary analysis was conducted on information about the crime scenes of 36 sexually oriented murderers.

Identifying murderers who had earlier been sexually abused was accomplished by using interview or official record information about whether the subject had been sexually abused as a child, adolescent, or adult. Information about symptoms and criminal behaviors was obtained in a similar manner. A "yes" response required confirmation through offender disclosure and background record; an answer recorded as "suspected" was based on the offender's recollection. For this aspect of the research, both answers were coded as "yes." We acknowledge the limitations of this variable, which could be either underreported due to memory loss over the years or incorrect because of offender error in memory reconstruction. In addition, the increased public attention to sexual victimization may have influenced offenders to give a positive response. It is important to keep in mind that all subjects in this study were convicted of sexually oriented murder. This report is based on our analysis of convicted, incarcerated, sexual murderers for whom there were data available on early sexual abuse in their life histories; on their sexual/aggressive interests, fantasies, and practices; and on their criminal behaviors. At the time of data collection, these men represented a group of sexually oriented murderers who were available for research purposes (that is, whose appeal process was complete), and who were also able to participate in the in-depth interview conducted by the agents. Murderers were excluded from the sample if they were actutely mentally disordered and unable to respond to interview questions (N = 2). They were selected for a project to investigate law enforcement profiling techniques (Ressler et al., 1985); in addition, they do not represent a random sample.

FINDINGS

When questioned about prior sexual abuse, 12, or 43%, of those murderers responding (28) indicated such abuse in childhood (age 1-12); 9, or 32%, were abused in adolescence (age 13-18); and 10, or 37%, as adults (over age 18).

Symptoms and behavior indicators. The comparison of sexual abuse in childhood and adolescence by symptoms and behaviors present in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood for murderers who had and who had not been sexually abused is presented in Table 1. For the overwhelming majority of symptoms and behavioral indica-

tors, the higher incidence is in the direction of those offenders who were sexually abused. Those sexually abused in childhood are significantly more likely than nonabused offenders to report the following symptoms in childhood: cruelty to animals, isolation, convulsions, cruelty to children, and assaultive to adults. In addition, those men sexually abused in childhood are more likely to report experiencing the following symptoms in adolescence: sleep problems, isolation, running away, self-mutilation, temper tantrums, rebelliousness, and assaultive to adults. In adulthood, differences are noted in the areas of poor body image, sleep problems, isolation, self-mutilation, and temper tantrums.

Those sexually abused in adolescence are more likely than nonabused offenders to report the following symptoms in adolescence: running away, fire setting, and cruelty to animals. In adulthood, differences for those sexually abused as an adolescent include the behavioral indicators of nightmares, daydreams, rebelliousness, and cruelty to children. (See Table 2.)

Sexual issues. Our analysis of the total murderer sample found that over 50% of the murderers report concern with various sexual issues. These include sexual conflicts (69%), sexual incompetencies (69%), sexual inhibitions (61%), sexual ignorance (59%), and sexual dysfunction (56%).

Regarding sexual activities, over 50% of all murderers report interests in pornography (81%), fetishism (stealing, wearing, or masturbating with women's undergarments; attraction to specific body parts, articles, or inanimate objects) (72%), and voyeurism (71%). A total of 39% report interests in bondage sex (S&M), and 25% indicate involvement in indecent exposure. Less than one-fourth disclose interest in sexual contact with animals (23%), obscene telephone calls (22%), rubbing against others (18%), cross-dressing (17%), prostitution (11%), and coprophilia (7%).

An analysis of the relationship between prior sexual abuse in childhood or adolescence and sexual issues shows that the sexually abused offenders are more likely to report sexual conflicts (92% versus 40%; $p = .01$), sexual dysfunction (69% versus 50%), and sexual incompetence (77% versus 60%). There is little or no difference in sexual ignorance between the two groups.

An analysis of the relationship between sexual abuse in childhood and adolescence and participation in certain sexual activities indi-

TABLE 1

Symptoms and Behaviors for Sexually and Nonsexually Abused Murders

(in percentages)

	Sexually Abused as a Child						*Sexually Abused as an Adolescent*			
	Symptoms as a Child		*Symptoms as an Adolescent*		*Symptoms as an Adult*		*Symptoms as an Adolescent*		*Symptoms as an Adult*	
Symptoms and Behaviors	*Sexually Abused*	*Not Sexually Abused*	*Sexually Abused*	*Not Sexually Abused*	*Sexually Abused*	*Not Sexually Abused*	*Sexually Abused*	*Not Sexually Abused*	*Sexually Abused*	*Not Sexually Abused*
Enuresis	78	55	67	50	22	10	60	57	20	14
Poor body image	58	42	75	46	75	42*	56	63	56	60
Nightmares	78	50	78	55	67	45	80	60	100	40***
Eating problems	36	17	50	18	50	25	50	27	50	31
Sleep problems	60	27	70	27**	70	27**	67	40	67	40
Headaches	40	20	50	20	60	30	50	29	50	43
Accident prone	33	31	33	36	22	36	33	36	17	36
Convulsions	36	8*	30	15	28	8	14	25	14	13
Isolation	91	57*	100	62**	91	62*	88	75	75	75
Daydreams	91	71	91	71	91	71	100	71*	100	71*
Running away	36	36	73	23***	18	8	50	44		
Phobias	40	31	50	33	60	38	43	40	43	50
Chronic lying	73	64	73	71	64	64	88	65	75	59
Stealing	70	43	90	71	56	50	86	76	50	53
Destroying property	60	54	64	54	30	27	63	56	14	36
Self-mutilation	27	15	40	8*	54	17**	33	19	43	31
Temper tantrums	64	46	73	38*	70	31*	75	44	57	44
Rebellious	80	57	100	69**	90	62	100	75	100	63**
Cruelty to children	73	38*	67	62	50	25	75	59	63	25*
Fire setting	60	46	64	38	36	15	75	38*	38	19
Cruelty to animals	58	15**	58	31	40	29	67	31*	43	29
Assaultive to adults	50	17*	100	69**	90	79	100	75	100	76
Destructive to possessions	44	15	50	25	50	25	43	33	29	40
Compulsive masturbation	82	80	82	80	82	73	88	78	88	72

*p ≤ .09; **p ≤ .05; ***p ≤ .01.

TABLE 2
Behaviors with Significant Differences Between
Sexually Abused and Non-Sexually Abused Murderers

Sexually Abused as a Child			*Sexually Abused as an Adolescent*	
Symptoms as a Child	*Symptoms as an Adolescent*	*Symptoms as an Adult*	*Symptoms as an Adolescent*	*Symptoms as an Adult*
Convulsions	Sleep problems	Poor body image	Running away	Nightmares
Isolation	Isolation	Isolation	Fire setting	Daydreams
Cruelty to children	Running away	Sleep problems	Cruelty to animals	Rebellious
Cruelty to animals	Self-mutilation	Self-mutilation		Cruelty to children
Assaultive to adults	Temper tantrums	Temper tantrums		
	Rebellious			
	Assaultive to adults			

cates that the sexually abused murderers are more likely to engage in sexual contact with animals (40% versus 8%; $p \leq .06$), bondage sex (55% versus 23%), fetishism (83% versus 57%), obscene phone calls (36% versus 15%), indecent exposure (36% versus 21%), pornography (92% versus 79%), frottage (27% versus 15%), and cross-dressing (18% versus 7%). There is little difference or no difference noted in the area of voyeurism. Prostitution and coprophilia were dropped from this analysis due to an inadequate number of responses.

Rape fantasies. For 19 of the 36 murderers who responded to a question about at what age they began to fantasize about rape, the ages range from 5 to 25 years old. The results of a test of mean age differences shows that sexually abused murderers (11) began to fantasize at an earlier age than did those not abused (8), or ages 11.6 years versus 15.3 years ($t = 1.99$, $p = 0.05$).

First consensual sex. For 19 murderers, the age of first significant, consensual sexual experience ranged from 11 to 35 years of age. The results of a test of mean age difference shows that sexually abused killers report an earlier age for this activity than do murderers not sexually abused (14.7 years versus 16.2 years). However, this difference was not statistically significant ($t = 1.12$, $p = 0.14$).

Aversion to sexual activity. It was clear to the interviewers that some of the murderers could not answer the question of age of consensual sex because they had never had such an experience. Thus in reply to the question about whether they experienced a marked

aversion or inhibition to sexual activity with peers, the affirmative response of 26 offenders is not surprising.

Of these 26, 11 were sexually abused as children and 15 were not (see Table 3). Results indicate that there is no difference in aversion to sexual activity in childhood for sexually versus nonsexually abused murderers (9% versus 7%). Murderers who were sexually abused in childhood are more likely than their nonabused counterparts to report aversion to sex in adolescence (73% versus 27%) and in adulthood (73% versus 33%; $p = 0.05$).

Mutilation of murder victim. The results of assessing the relationship between sexual abuse in childhood and the mutilation of murder victims after death show a positive relationship (see Table 4). Mutilation is defined as the deliberate cutting, usually after death, of the sexual areas of the body (breasts, genitals, abdomen). Sexually abused murderers are more likely to mutilate victims than are those offenders not sexually abused (67% versus 44%). We also see a positive relationship between adolescent sexual victimization and the mutilation of the murder victim (78% versus 42%; $p = .07$).

DISCUSSION

Sexual Interests and Behaviors

In our examination of sexual interests and behaviors we find some association in our population between early sexual abuse and the development of sexual deviations or psychosexual disorders (DSM III, 1980). As described by the DSM III (1980), the essential feature of psychosexual disorders is that unusual or bizarre imagery or acts are necessary for sexual excitement. Additionally, the acts tend to be involuntarily repetitive and the imagery necessary for sexual arousal must be included in masturbatory fantasies. In the murderer sample, those sexually abused offenders were more likely to have the paraphilia of zoophilia and to begin to experience rape fantasies earlier than the nonabused group. The complexity and bizarreness of the offender's fantasy life needed to obtain and sustain emotional arousal suggest that the ultimate expression of his perversion is in the mutilation of the victim.

There are many significant differences of behavioral indicators comparing across developmental levels of childhood, adolescence,

TABLE 3
Inhibition or Aversion to Sexual Activity of Sexually Abused and Nonabused Murderers
(in percentages)

	Sexual Abuse			
	As a Child		*As an Adolescent*	
Aversion to Sexual Activity	*Yes (11)*	*No (15)*	*Yes (8)*	*No (18)*
In childhood	9	7		
In adolescence	73	27	63	39
In adulthood	73	33	63	44

NOTE: n = numbers in parentheses.
*$p < 0.05$

TABLE 4
Mutilation of Murder Victims and Sexual Victimization of Offender

	Mutilation of Victims		
Victimization	*Yes* %	*No* %	*N*
In childhood			
Yes	67	33	12
No	44	56	16
In adolescence			
Yes	78	22	9
No	42	58	19

*$p = 0.07$.

and adulthood for abused and nonabused murderers. We note the consistently reported behavior of isolation as an outcome of childhood sexual abuse with varied symptom clusters of sleep problems, nightmares, daydreams, poor body image, and convulsions; behaviors of self-mutilation, running away, temper tantrums, rebelliousness, fire setting, actions of cruelty to children and animals, and assault of adults. Some of the symptoms suggest internalized undisclosed sexual abuse (i.e., sleep problems, running away, self-mutilation, and poor body image) whereas other symptoms suggest externalized aggression.

Although it would not be expected to see differences between murderers who were sexually molested in childhood reporting a greater peer sex aversion than the nonmolested as a child, those

molested in childhood do have more aversion of peer sex in adolescence and those molested in adolescence also have a high report rate of aversion at this time. This finding suggests that there is a complex interaction between basic developmental issues of sexuality that interact with molestation at different times in the development of the child and are linked with avoidance of peer experiences in adolescence. It is speculated that this aversion not only jeopardizes the development of constructive and normative sexual and interpersonal experiences but also increases social isolation and fosters a reliance on fantasy for impulse development and discharge.

Hypersexuality or the sexualization of relationships is an important indicator of sexually abused children, and children can be expressive both verbally and behaviorally about sex. Often when this sexuality is expressed aggressively toward others, it reflects directly on the aggressive and exploitive nature of the initial abuse (Burgess et al., 1984). Sex, rather than linking these men (abused and nonabused) with their peers, somehow impedes the connection. One speculation is that the adult role of the abuser in the original childhood victimization is maintained in the repeated fantasy and thus the preferred sexual relationship is a child/adult pairing. In addition, relationships with younger children, peers, and adults are marked by aggression.

Murder Behavior

One finding of our analysis of crime scene evidence approached a level of significance with sexual abuse. There was a striking difference in the style of sexual assaults on victims between sexually abused offenders and those offenders who did not report abuse: Those who were sexually abused in childhood tended to mutilate the body after killing, as contrasted with murderers who raped and then killed ($p = 0.07$). We speculate that undisclosed and unresolved early sexual abuse may be a contributing factor in the stimulation of bizarre, sexual, sadistic behavior characterized in a subclassification of mutilators.

Although we do not have systematic data collected on the intentions of the mutilations, some murderers volunteered information. One murderer said the mutilation was a way of disposing of the body, implying he had a pragmatic reason for the mutilation. However, the autopsy report revealed that in addition to cutting up the body, he also pulled out the victim's fingernails after death, something he

claimed not to remember. This man went to prison for the first killing. When he was released he knew he would kill again. He revealed that he sought the high level of emotional arousal not in the killing, but in the successful dismemberment of his victims and the disposal of the parts without detection—an act that took thought and planning.

MacCulloch and colleagues (1983) observed in their sample of sex offenders with sadistic fantasies that from an early age, the men had difficulties in both social and sexual relationships. They suggest that this failure in social/sexual approach might be partly responsible for the development of a feeling of inadequacy and lack of assertiveness. This inability to control events in the real world moves the man into a fantasy world where he can control his inner world. This fantasy of control and dominance is bound to be repeated because of the relief it provides from a pervasive sense of failure. MacCulloch and colleagues (1983) suggest that when sexual arousal is involved in the sadistic fantasy, the further shaping and content of the fantasy may be viewed on a classical conditioning model; the strong tendency to progression of sadistic fantasies may then be understood in terms of habituation.

Eysenck (1968) argues the acting out of elements of the deviant fantasies is a relatively short step in those whose personalities predispose to repeated thinking or incubation. In these cases the fantasies would theoretically at least form part of a conditional stimulus class and possibly become a necessary condition for sexual arousal. Thus a conditioning model, writes MacCulloch and colleagues (1983), may explain not only the strength and permanence of sadistic fantasies in these abnormal personalities but their progression to nonsexual and sexual crimes. This model provides an explanation for what Reinhardt (1957) called the "forward thrust of sexual fantasies in sadistic murderers." Our last example of a mutilator murderer underscores the reality-orienting fantasy of successful disposal of the body as the cognitive set, driving repeated murders.

Although all murders in our study contained a sexual element, it was apparent that motives differed. Some victims were raped and then murdered; others were murdered and then sexually mutilated. Rapists who murder, according to Rada (1978), rarely report any sexual satisfaction from the murder nor perform sexual acts postmortem. In contrast, the sadistic murderer (Brittain, 1970), sometimes called *lust-murderer* (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980), kills prior to or simultaneously in carrying out a ritualized sadistic fantasy.

Evidence from this study suggests that the murderer with a sexual abuse history will first kill the victim to achieve control before he makes any sexual expression. The murderer may not necessarily have any orgastic experiences with the body, but rather may masturbate on or beside the body. The release of tension may also occur through substitute action such as mutilation of the body, or perhaps using, as noted with Brittain's study (1970), a phallus substitute.

Consistent with our study are others (Brittain, 1970; MacCulloch et al., 1983) that underscore a feeling of relief and pseudonormal behavior following the murder. Many of the murderers recount going home and sleeping deeply after a murder. After several days, they would reflect on the murder in great detail.

IMPLICATIONS

The analysis of data specific to the variables of childhood sexual abuse and subsequent symptoms and criminal behaviors suggests that several variables (e.g., daydreams, isolation, cruelty to children and animals) play an important part in the subgroups (i.e., rape-murder and murder-mutilate) of sexual murderers. There is every indication that the motivation for murder is a complex developmental process that is based on needs for sexual dominance at the destructive expense of the victim. It appears from this exploratory study of convicted killers that there is an important difference in the symptom constellation among those with a history of sexual abuse and those without such a history. Although it is not clear whether there is a difference in psychological motivation for sexual murder, what is apparent is an early onset of specific behaviors that are noted in the subgroup of murderers who mutilate.

The association of the specific impact of sexual molestation in the lives of these offenders and subsequent mutilation of their victims requires further investigation. To speculate on a possible link between the adolescents who were sexually abused and those who mutilate the body suggests a premeditated pattern where acts of self-mutilation are then transferred and carried out on others.

Our exploratory study raises far more questions than it answers. Current understanding of disclosed childhood sexual abuse has focused on the initial treatment (Burgess et al., 1978; Conte, 1984; Sgroi, 1982), legal process (Buckley, 1981), sequelae (Browne & Finkelhor,

1984), and prevention efforts (Conte, 1984; Swift, 1977). Yet our understanding of undisclosed childhood sexual abuse and its long-term effects is limited in regard to gender differences and behavioral outcomes. It becomes even more imperative, given our findings on behavioral differences, that we not only learn how to detect cases of child sexual abuse early but also delve further into behavioral outcomes particularly in noncriminal abused adults.

For the men who repeat sexual murder, their internal processing and cognitive operations appear to sustain and perpetuate fantasies of sexually violent actions. As a result, clinicians are urged to take careful note of patients reporting sadistic as well as criminal fantasies and record a systematic history on the content, duration, progression, and affect triggered by the fantasy. For law enforcement, murder that appears to be motiveless—that is, the victim is a stranger and there is no profit to be gained from the death of the victim—suggests that the victim and offense must be seen as having symbolic meaning to the offender reflecting violent sadistic fantasies.

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Chapter 1

The Men Who Murdered

Statistics from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports document the alarming number of victims of sexually violent crimes. One of the disturbing patterns inherent in these statistics is that of the serial or repetitive criminal. Law enforcement officials have questioned whether a small percentage of criminals may be responsible for a large number of crimes, that is, a core group of habitual serious and violent offenders. This has been documented in one study on juvenile delinquents,[1] and other studies have reported similar results,[2] with average estimates of from 6 to 8 percent of delinquents comprising the core of the delinquency problem.

To address this problem, law enforcement is studying techniques to aid in apprehending serial offenders. These techniques require an indepth knowledge of the criminal personality, an area that, until recently, was researched primarily by forensic clinicians who interviewed criminals from a psychological framework or by criminologists who studied crime trends and statistics. Missing from the data base were critical aspects relevant to law enforcement investigation. Researchers have now begun to study the criminal from law enforcement perspectives, with a shift in focus to the investigative process of crime scene inquiry and victimology.

Our research is the first study of sexual homicide and crime scene patterns from a law enforcement perspective. It includes an initial appraisal of a profiling process and interviews of incarcerated murderers conducted by FBI Special Agents. The interviews contain specific questions answered from compiled sources plus lengthy, open-ended interviews with the murderers themselves. A subsample of 36 sexual murderers was selected for analysis to develop further information for profiling these murders. Here, we present what we learned about these 36 men. It is important to recognize that we are making general statements about these offenders. Not all statements are true for *all* offenders, although they may be true for *most* of the 36 men or for most of the offenders from whom we obtained data. Responses were not available from all offenders for all questions.

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"Law enforcement officials have questioned whether a small percentage of criminals may be responsible for a large number of crimes. . . ."

Background Characteristics

Although their birth years ranged from 1904 to 1958, most of the 36 offenders (all male) grew up in the 1940's and 1950's. They were predominantly white and were usually eldest sons (first or second born), which gave them a distinct advantage, given the dominant-male attitudes in the country at that time.

Most of these men, as adults, had pleasant general appearances, suggesting that as boys they were not unattractive. Their heights and weights were within the norms, and few had distinguishing handicaps or physical defects to set them apart in a group of boys or men. The majority of the men were of average or above-average intelligence, with one-third having superior intelligence.

The majority initially began life in two-parent homes, and half of the mothers were homemakers. Although the majority of fathers worked at unskilled jobs, they were steadily employed; only five men reported the family living at substandard economic levels.

Thus, poverty was not a significant factor in the socioeconomic status of families; mothers were in the home; fathers were earning stable incomes; the subjects were intelligent, white, eldest sons. With such positive personal characteristics and social factors, the question is: What went wrong? Is there any evidence of what may have turned these men into sexually oriented murderers?

Family Background

It is often argued that the structure and quality of family interaction is an important factor in the development of a child, especially in the way the child perceives the family members and their interaction with him and with each other. For children growing up, the quality of their attachments to parents and other members of the family is important in how these children become adults and relate to, and value, other members of society. Essentially, these early life attachments (sometimes called bonding) translate into a map of how the child will perceive situations outside of the family. Because of this, we were especially interested in specific factors within family relationships that best show the offenders' levels of attachment to people.

The family histories of these men revealed that multiple problems existed in the family structure. Half of the offenders' families had members with criminal histories; over half of the families had psychiatric problems. This suggests insufficient contact between some family members and the offender as a child, as well as the possibility of inadequate patterns of relating. Nearly 70 percent of the families had histories of alcohol abuse, one-third of the families had histories of drug abuse, and sexual problems among family members were either present or suspected in almost half of the reported cases. Thus, it is unlikely that most of the offenders experienced a good quality of life or positive interactions with family members.

When examining the patterns described by the murderers regarding their own families, one is impressed by the high degree of instability in homelife and by the poor quality of attachment among family members. Only one-third of the men reported growing up in one location. The majority (17) said they experienced occasional instability, and six reported chronic instability or frequent moving. Over 40 percent of the men lived outside the family home before age 18 in places such as foster homes, State homes, detention centers, or mental hospitals. Twenty-five of the men for whom data were available had histories of early psychiatric difficulties, thereby minimizing their opportunity to establish positive relationships within the family. In addition, the families had minimal attachment to a community, reducing the child's opportunities to develop positive, stable relationships outside the family that might compensate for family instability.

As stated earlier, both parents were present in over half (20) of the cases, with the father being absent in 10 cases, the mother being absent in 3 cases, and both parents being absent in 2 cases. However, of importance is that in 17 cases, the biological father left home before the boy reached 12 years of age. This absence was due to a variety of reasons, including separation and divorce. It is not surprising, then, that the dominant parent of the offender during the rearing phase of his life was the mother (for 21 cases). Only nine offenders said the father was the dominant parent, and two said both parents shared the parenting roles.

Perhaps the most interesting fact revealed was that most offenders said they did not have a satisfactory relationship with their father, and their relationship with their mother was highly ambivalent in emotional quality. Sixteen of the men reported cold or uncaring relationships with their mothers, and 26 reported such relationships with their fathers.

Twenty of the offenders had no older brothers and 17 had no older sisters. In terms of having a strong role model during formative years,

"It appears that the childhood physical and sexual abuse experienced by these offenders was manifested in their preference for fantasy life."

these men lacked an older sibling who might make up for parental deficiencies. Instead, they had to compete with younger siblings in an emotionally deficient environment.

Compounding the offenders' limited opportunities for positive attachments were their perceptions of parental discipline. Frequently, the men reported discipline as unfair, hostile, inconsistent, and abusive. These men believed they were not dealt with fairly by adults throughout their formative years.

This quote from a serial murderer illustrates these beliefs:

> "See, if I had my way, you guys would never have grown up or become FBI agents. I wanted the whole world to kick off when I was about 9 or 10. I didn't want my family to break up; I loved them both. There was a lot of fighting and that had me crying watching it at night. They divorced. I've got two sisters and my mother treated me like a third daughter telling me what a rotten father I have. I'm supposed to be identifying with my dad and I never did. I got an older sister that beats up on me a lot—five years older. I got a younger sister that lies on both of us and gets us punished. I had the instinct to feel like I'm getting a rotten deal."

The data have suggested that most of the 36 murderers, while growing up, had weak attachments to family members. They felt uninvolved with their fathers, ambivalent toward their mothers, and little attachment to younger siblings. The parents were preoccupied with their own problems of substance abuse, criminality, or aberrant sexual behavior and were often arguing. It appears that while parents offered little guidance, they were role models for deviant patterns.

Individual Development

When looking at individual development of the offenders, two factors stand out—the dominance of a fantasy life and a history of personal abuse.

Many of the murderers were able to describe the importance of a fantasy life in their early development. These fantasies were primarily violent and sadistic in nature. Twenty offenders had rape fantasies before age 18, and seven of these men acted out these fantasies within a year of becoming consciously aware of them.

There was evidence of abuse in the childhood histories of these men. Physical abuse (13/31), psychological abuse (23/31), and childhood sexual abuse (12/31) were noted.

When the offenders were asked to rank their sexual interests, the highest ranking activity was pornography (81 percent), followed by compulsive masturbation (79 percent), fetishism (72 percent), and voyeurism (71 percent). It is interesting to note the seemingly solitary pattern of these sexual expressions.

It appears that the childhood physical and sexual abuse experienced by these offenders was manifested in their preference for fantasy life. In addition, when questioned about the murders themselves and their preparations for the murders, the men identified the importance of fantasy to the rapes and murders. After the first murder, the men found themselves deeply preoccupied and sometimes stimulated by their memories of the act, all of which contributed to fantasies for subsequent murders.

One begins to understand how an early pattern used to cope with an unsatisfactory family life might turn a child away from reality and into his own private world of violence where the child can exert control. The control of the fantasy becomes crucial first to the child and later to the man. These are not fantasies of escape to something better, as one often sees in children recovering from sexual assaults and abusive treatment. These men did not overcompensate for the stimulation and aggression by idyllic thinking or creative interests. Rather, their energies were funneled into fantasies of aggression and mastery over other people, suggesting a projected repetition of their own abuse and identification with the aggressor. As one murderer stated, "Nobody bothered to find out what my problem was and nobody knew about the fantasy world."

Performance

Examination of performance behavior of these murderers revealed another paradox. Despite intelligence and potential in many areas, performance in academics, employment, sexual relationships, and military service was often poor. In all of these areas, performance did not match potential.

Although these men had the intelligence to perform well in school, academic failure was seen in their having to repeat elementary grades. The majority did not finish high school. In addition, school failure was frequently mentioned by the men, suggesting that they related this early failure to their sense of inadequacy.

The men also had the intelligence needed to perform skilled jobs; however, most offenders had poor work histories in unskilled jobs, and only 20 percent had ever held steady jobs.

About half of the offenders entered the military. Only 4 of the 14

who were in military service received honorable discharges, and 1 of the 4 had a criminal history in the service. Two men received general discharges, three were dishonorably discharged, three had undesirable discharges, and two received medical discharges.

The sexual performance of the offenders was generally at an autoerotic (solo sexual activity) level. Although 20 men were able to state an age of first consenting sex to orgasm, they did not report an extensive, peer-related sexual history. The ages of first consenting sexual experience ranged from 11 to 25. Of the 16 who did not report an age, it was clear to the interviewers that many never experienced consenting "normal" sex. There was an obvious preference for autoerotic activity.

The interviews with the offenders revealed many expressions of low self-esteem prior to the murders. Many offenders felt a sense of failure beginning at a young age. Again, we can speculate on the importance of fantasy life. It appears that what compensates for poor performance is the fantasy, in which the variables can be controlled.

Resultant Attitudes and Beliefs

In reviewing background characteristics for the offenders as a group, a pattern emerges as we look at issues critical to sexual homicide. Although the personal strengths of the murderers (high intelligence, good appearance, average socioeconomic family status, oldest son or first/second born) are usually positive attributes for success, something occurs which causes a negative outcome for these men. From the perceived quality of family structure and function, the history of abuse, the dominance of fantasy, the preference for solo sex, and the performance failure of these men, the data suggest the emergence of certain attitudes.

Devaluation of People

The men in the study experienced low social attachment, felt detached from family members as well as from peers, and did not experience the bonding through which people develop sensitivity toward other people. The murderers frequently described themselves as loners or as feeling different from others their age. The resultant attitudes include beliefs that do not consider or are insensitive to the needs of others. Essentially, the offenders do not value relationships—they are self-centered.

World Viewed as Unjust

The men perceived discipline in the home, school failures, and other inadequate performance as part of an unjust and unfair world. Their resultant belief is that other people are responsible for their fates.

Authority and Life Viewed as Inconsistent

These men view authority and life as inconsistent, unpredictable, and unstable. As a result, the offenders do not value or trust authority.

Obsession with Dominance through Aggression

The intense desire to be strong, powerful, and in control becomes an obsession to dominate through aggression. This desire results from the way the offenders responded to the abuse in their families. It was subsequently manifested in their fantasies and later in their acts.

Autoerotic Preference

The men reported few attachments to persons outside of the family. Rather, they admitted to an autoerotic preference (masturbation) that combined with fantasies of aggression and the realities of the abuse they were concurrently experiencing. Their visual interests (pornography, fetishism, and voyeurism) reinforced the sex and aggression.

Fantasy is Reality

The offenders' active participation in the social world is limited, and their efforts at performing and fitting in are frustrated. Their need for a sense of adequacy and mastery of life is noted in their development of private worlds where fantasy and delusions predominate. This retreat triggers the thoughts that dictate criminal behavior.

Deviant Behaviors

The data suggest that the deviant behaviors of rape, mutilation, torture, and murder have some roots in both the offenders' background characteristics and their attitudes and beliefs. (See fig. 1.) The deviant behavior identified at the crime scene provides some clues for understanding the type of criminal personality responsible for the crime.

Rape

Rape is sexually deviant behavior that exhibits absolute disregard for the worth and value of an individual. Rape fantasies range from having power and control over a victim to more violent sadistic fantasies. Those who rape before killing are seeking to

dominate others, regardless of the consequences; those who sexually assault after death (necrophilia) need the absence of life to have total domination without fear of resistance and/or rejection. In both cases, there is a high amount of sexual dysfunction, most frequently ejaculatory failure. This inadequacy is projected onto the victim and may play a part in the escalation to murder.

Figure 1

General Characteristics, Resultant Attitudes and Beliefs, and Deviant Behaviors of 36 Sexual Murderers

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Family Background	Individual Development	Performance
Detachment	Dominance of fantasy	School failure
Criminality	History of personal abuse	Sporadic work record
Substance abuse		Unskilled employment
Psychiatric problems		Poor military record
Sexual problems		Solo sex
Inconsistent discipline		

RESULTANT ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS	DEVIANT BEHAVIORS
Devaluation of victim and society	Rape
World viewed as unjust	Mutilation
Authority/life viewed as inconsistent	Torture
Autoerotic preference	Murder
Obsession with dominance through aggression	
Fantasy as reality	

Mutilation and Torture

The act of mutilation may be predicated on a primary fantasy (sadism) or on a secondary fantasy (e.g., disposing of the body). A mutilation fantasy includes symbolic patterns to the cuttings and markings on a body or the amputation of the sexual parts of the body. This is in contrast to the practical aspect of dissecting a body for disposal or transportation purposes.

Torturing a victim is part of a sadistic fantasy. Such fantasies include some type of stimulus enhancing an autoerotic condition and include slicing, cutting, burning, pulling out hairs or body parts, and biting.

Murder

Murder is the ultimate expression of dominance. The offender's aggression is self-generated from his own fantasies, not from any societal model of strength or power. His idea of mastering other people emerges through his violence and aggression. For these murderers, sexual interest is linked with violence and exploitation rather than gentleness or pleasure. Murder fantasies range from conscious deliberate planning to a spontaneous outburst of rage. Although the offender's fantasy life develops his predatory activities, the first actualizing of the fantasy makes them real. Acting out the fantasy links the fantasy with reality, and the fantasy *becomes* reality. The offender believes he can now control reality.

Conclusion

What, then, can we glean from an analysis of background information and interviews with 36 sexual murderers? Although any speculations are general in nature and will not apply to every sexual killer, our sample indicates that child/adolescent energies were funneled into fantasies rather than into goal-directed learning behavior. Excessive involvement in solo sex, noted through the frequency of masturbation and the preference for visual isolated sexual experiences, such as fetishes and voyeurism, may have a link with the offender's dominant fantasy world. A high interest in pornography detracts from engaging in reality and relationships and further reinforces the fantasy. Excitement lies within the offender, not in his relationships with other people.

The roots of the murderer's actions appear to stem from their background experiences. The combination of low social attachment, physical, emotional, and/or sexual abuse, and a dominance of a violent, sexualized fantasy life sets into motion the attitudes and beliefs that trigger the deviant behavior of rape, mutilation, torture, and murder. One of the major relationship deficiencies for these murderers is in their interaction with men, perhaps stemming from the absent, cold, and unavailable father.

An understanding of some of the dynamics behind sexually deviant behavior provides law enforcement officials some insight into the suspects they are trying to identify and apprehend. **FBI**

Footnotes

[1] M.E. Wolfgang, R.M. Figlio, and T. Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972).

[2] R.M. Figlio and P.E. Tracy, "Chronic Recidivism in the 1968 Birth Cohort," unpublished manuscript, Washington, DC, NIJJDP, 1983; D.M. Hamparian, R. Schuster, S. Dinitz, and J.P. Conrad, *The Violent Few* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Health & Co., 1978); L.W. Shannon, "A Longitudinal Study of Delinquency and Crime," in *Quantitative Studies in Criminology*, ed. C. Wellford (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978).

The Split Reality of Murder

". . . to many serial killers, . . . fantasies of murder are as real as their acts of murder."

"Murder is very real. It's not something you see in a movie. You have to do all the practical things of surviving," [1]

Murder is, indeed, very real. Yet to many serial killers, their fantasies of murder are as real as their acts of murder. To them, their existence is split into two realities: The social reality of the "normal" world where people do not murder, and the psychological vitality of the fantasy that is the impetus for the killer to commit his heinous crime. It is a split reality because the fantasy life is such a preoccupation. It becomes an additional reality, distinguishable from the "other" reality of the day-to-day social world.

Interviews with 36 convicted sexual murderers have provided insights into their attitudes, beliefs, and justifications for their crimes. In order to interpret the murderer's sense of what is important, this article presents thoughts and beliefs articulated by the murderers themselves. First, we discuss the structure of conscious motives for murder, the killer's longstanding fantasy of violence and murder. Second, we look at what happens when the fantasy of murder is played out through its various phases. By presenting our interpretation of the fantasy's importance to the serial killer, we hope to suggest perspectives for law enforcement on the investigation of sexual homicide.

Motive and Fantasy

How does the motive for a murder evolve, and what triggers the murderer to act? Many murders puzzle law enforcement because they appear to lack the "usual" motives, such as robbery or revenge. Motives, however, need to be determined, since understanding the motive is critical to the subsequent apprehension of a suspect.

The 36 murderers in our study, replying to this fundamental question of what triggered their first murders, revealed that as a group, they were aware of their longstanding involvement and preference for a very active fantasy life and they were devoted to violent sexual fantasies. Most of these fantasies, prior to the first murder, focused on killing, while fantasies that evolved after the *first* murder often focused on perfecting various phases of the murder. The following illustrates an early fantasy of one of the serial murderers that developed following the move of his bedroom to a windowless basement room. This fantasy

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". . . many offenders reported a history of sadistic behavior toward animals, such as killing, maiming, and threatening small animals. . . ."

seemed to introduce him in a more conscious way to a fantasy life which occupied much of his life:

> "I was eight years old, having nightmares, that's when I went off into the morbid fantasy and that's when the death trip started. The devil was sharing my bedroom with me, he was living in the furnace. The furnace was there battling away in the corner with an eerie glow in the middle of the night."

This man later in the interview described a conscious awareness of his motive to kill:

> "I knew long before I started killing that I was going to be killing, that it was going to end up like that. The fantasies were too strong. They were going on for too long and were too elaborate."

Following the first murder, the fantasy becomes reality that requires a change in the structure of the fantasy in order to repeat the crime. The same murderer tells of this fantasy development:

> "It was almost like a black comedy of errors, the first killings, two people, it was terrible because I made three fatal errors in the first 24 hours. I should have been busted . . . I saw how loose I was and I tightened it up and when it happened again and again I got tighter and tighter and there weren't any more slips."

Motivation operates on many levels. We are referring here to the conscious or preconscious awareness of the murderers, the structure of their fantasies, and the resultant act of murder. We use the term "preconscious" since many of the interviews with the murderers reveal this level. The man would state he remembered having vague thoughts or was able to remember some parts of his thinking but did not have this awareness clearly structured in his mind. This response in subjects led to our belief that much of the motive and intent in the form of fantasies are vague and loosely formulated *until* the murderers actually kill. With the reality of the murder, the fantasy feeds off itself and becomes more structured. As more murders are committed, the phases of the murders become more organized.

Although we discuss the "first" murder, many offenders reported a history of sadistic behavior toward animals, such as killing, maiming, and threatening small animals (cats, birds, fish). In one case, the murderer, as a young boy, had acquired the nickname "Doc," apparently from his fondness for slitting open the stomachs of cats and observing how far they could run before they died.

One murderer connected his murderous acts to dismembering his sister's doll heads. "I used to do my sister's dolls that way when I was a kid . . . just yanked the head off her Barbie dolls." Although this offender was able to note the connection to his early violent fantasies, many offenders were not able to make this link.

We are not discussing in this article any motives based on childhood experiences. Instead, we are referring to a level of motivation that later in the life of the offender serves as a basis for or triggers the murder.

It is at this later level of motivation that the offender's fantasy life reflects itself in his social behavior—the line between fantasy and reality blurs. The offender may become isolated or socially aloof rather than acting on the fantasy. This social isolation perhaps helps in inhibiting his desire to act on the fantasy. What these 36 men revealed in terms of their first murder was that something happened externally to them that moved them to act out this fantasy.

The key person in the fantasy—the one doing the killing, maiming, or torturing—is the perpetrator himself. Sometimes, perpetrators fantasize self-victimization, such as ordering their own evisceration, but most victimize others in their fantasies. Their actions are mentally rehearsed and are accompanied by emotion. The fantasy life is varied and has many dynamics that are idiosyncratic to the murderer.

A variety of factors can trigger the offender to act on his fantasy, including certain interactions between the murderer and the victim. The following case illustrates the murderer's recall of the triggering event of the victim trying to escape, but not of the murder:

> *Subject:* "We were upstairs and I was taking my clothes off. That's when she started back downstairs. As a matter of fact, that's the only time I hit her. I caught her at the stairs."
> *Agent:* "What happened?"
> *Subject:* She wanted to know why I hit her. I just told her to be quiet. She was complaining about what time she would get home and she said her parents would worry. She consented to sex . . . then I remembered nothing else except waking up and her dead in the bed."

Some murderers were aware of their fantasy to rape and their motive to kill. The fantasy of one juvenile who was caught after his first rape depicted total control over women. He

was infuriated at the female judge who sentenced him to a residential facility, and he continued to rape when on leave from the facility. The rape fantasy escalated to include murder when there was a threat to this power and control, i.e., his detection. One rape victim was killed because she showed some assertiveness by running away, even though she had said she wouldn't tell. The murderer revealed his fantasy for total control when he said, "When I think she is going to tell, I know I have to kill her." He raped and murdered four more victims.

Some of the murderers in our study did not report fantasies in a conscious way. Instead, they often described states of dysphoria, such as they were not feeling well, they were depressed, or they had been drinking. These descriptions often revealed an underlying stress that may have been based in their fantasy. The following is an example:

> Subject: "It was the same as with the other one. I had been drinking at the bar. I don't even remember leaving. I don't know what made me kill her. I don't even know why I raped her. I had a good looking wife at home. I saw her get into her car and I walked up and got in the car with her, yelled at her, took her down there where I raped her. I kept telling her I didn't want to hurt her but I just started choking her."

We suspect that these offenders were preoccupied with a kind of internal dialog that sustained anger, discontent, irritability, or depression. Drinking or drugs are attempts at moderating the internal stress, yet the fantasy continues. These offenders are unaware of how much internal dialog they experience. For example, when chastized by a teacher or boss, these offenders talk to themselves about it—"If I ever got that son of a bitch I'd rip him apart; I'd smash him up." One offender, after performing poorly in the service and being intimidated by his sergeant, went a.w.o.l. on a drinking binge. While out on the street, he beat a drunk to death after the man grabbed at him. The offender felt justified in his actions and was unaware of the intensity of his rage or the impact of his blows. He then beat to death a second man. Finally, he abducted a female acquaintance. When he awoke the next morning, her dead body was beside him with a broomstick impaled in her vagina with such force that it had penetrated her lungs. Although he believes he killed her, he has no recollection of the incident. He even helped the police look for her.

Most people are aware of their fantasy life in terms of making pictures and carrying on dialog. When people report hearing voices, it is most often an hallucination. It is often described as either a voice from the outside or as someone transmitting thoughts into their mind. Something is in their heads of which they are consciously aware but they believe it is in the control of someone else and that they are the passive victim.

The fantasy of the serial murderer is a separate, distinct reality. It is vibrant and vital, distinguishable from the "other" reality of the social world. The offender believes he can move from one reality to the other, that ideas generated in fantasy are viable. No fantasy thought is ever seen as abnormal. For example, one murderer's fantasy involved an exceptionally good sexual experience, and when the woman's behavior did not match the fantasy, he became enraged and killed her.

Fantasies provide a sense of control to the offender. For the serial murderer, they become obsessions. Efforts are made to improve the fantasy's weak areas, and once this is accomplished, the offender moves to gain access to a victim. The symbolic figure in the fantasy is replaced with a real person in reality.

Phases of a Murder

The fantasy underlying a sexually oriented murder drives the offender's actions through various phases of that murder. The act of murder has at least four major phases, including: 1) Antecedent behavior, which includes the motives and planning or thinking about the murder; 2) the murder itself, including gaining access to the victim and carrying out the crime; 3) disposal of the body; and 4) postcrime behavior, including reaction to the discovery of the body.

Phase 1: Antecedent Behavior

Murder is a behavioral act. Motivations for this behavior include either a conscious fantasy, plan, directive, or reason to kill or a triggering environmental cue that activates an unconscious fantasy for murder. Murderers who operate primarily on a conscious motivational level usually remember their thoughts prior to the murder. One of the murderers in our study described his entangled fantasy and perversions and said, "I had a compulsion during the day and hoped it would settle down—hoped I could wipe it out drinking." It did not settle down, and he acted out the fantasy and murdered after leaving the bar.

Murderers who are triggered into action by an environmental cue often state that they cannot remember their

"Sexual homicide is an act of control, dominance, and performance that is representative of an underlying fantasy embedded with violence, sexuality, and death."

precrime behavior, although they can recall how they murdered. They state they found themselves in a compromising situation, and they reacted with explosive rage. ("She was screaming and I strangled her.") These killers usually described a spontaneous murder. The vagueness of the crime continued with subsequent murders; however, the men are aware that they will kill again.

Phase 2: Committing the Murder

Selecting a victim begins the acting-out level for the murderer with a conscious fantasy. The offender may have a list of criteria for choosing a victim, and many murderers are known to seek out the right victim. A delay before killing the victim often implies conscious planning and rehearsing of the fantasy. In these cases, the murderer often held an elaborate fantasy, laced with violence, aggression, torture, and sexuality, which also included the fate of the victim.

The history and circumstances of the victim are often important to the offender's fantasy. The victim may be symbolic of someone in the offender's history, as in one case where all the young women killed were symbolic of the offender's sister for whom he harbored great jealousy. Certain actions of the victim may also trigger the fantasy. One murderer, who selected his victims through hitchhiking, said, "She was playing up the role, the big beautiful smile and getting in the car which was kind of tragic but she had advertised to get blown away."

For the murderer without a conscious fantasy, a certain person or situation may, for example, cue in a strong belief of an unjust world. The offender feels unfairly treated, and this sets into motion the justification to kill. As one murderer said, "I couldn't perform sometimes. Somebody made fun of me and I blew my stack."

Killing the victim moves the offender to another level of the fantasy. At this point, the reality of murder comes into play. The victim may not die the way the offender planned. The offender might have to use more violence, he may feel more frightened than anticipated, or he might be startled by the fact he feels excited. Some murderers are exhilarated—they broke the rules, they killed. Some will kill again, while others will, in horror over what they did, turn themselves in to the police.

During this phase, murderers are also confronted with the reality of a dead body. There is no such thing as killing with impunity—there is always some response. Some murderers respond by covering the body, washing the wounds, or otherwise caring for the body, a response that exhibits remorse or concern for the victim. Some murderers hide or bury the body, raising some questions about their motives. One reason for hiding or burying the body is to keep the secret and maintain control. Other murderers openly display the corpse in a public area, hoping the display will shock and offend society.

Some murderers need to believe that they will not show any concern for the victim. The actual murder goes beyond their fantasies of that killing. One murderer described his heightened excitement when driving his car with the dead bodies in the trunk. There is confirmation and reinforcement of the fantasy and pleasure or triumph in the power of the kill. These killers may torture and then kill, or kill and then mutilate the body.

The power of the fantasy during the murder is illustrated by one fetish burglar. He killed his victims only when he was interrupted, but not because he was afraid of being identified. He was acting out an intense fantasy, and the unexpected interruption made him furious. He acted on this rage and felt justified in the murder.

Phase 3: Disposing of the Body

After committing the murder, the offender must decide what to do with the body. If this confrontation with reality has not been anticipated, the murderer may give himself up to the authorities. As one murderer said, "It blew my mind killing those people. I wasn't ready for that. The fantasies were there but I couldn't handle the death trip and dead bodies. I freaked out and gave myself up."

It is unclear why some murderers just leave the body, while others use elaborate methods of disposing of the body. One offender who described his internal dialog as he confronted the body of his first murder victim said, "I got a dead body on my hands. People see me come in here. How am I going to pack this out? Am I gonna put it in a double bag or sheet and carry it out of here? I figured the smaller the better. I chopped it up . . . stuffed some in the refrigerator . . . dumped guts in vacant lots . . . throwing pieces here and there what ever came out of the bag first . . . I was scared."

In a second case, the murderer described a planned dismembering of the body after killing the victim in a car. He then carried the body in a

bag, up two flights of stairs to the apartment he shared with his mother, passing two persons coming down the stairs. He said, "It took meticulous work . . . about four hours . . . dismembering it, getting rid of the blood, the gore, completely cleaning the bathroom."

Some murderers became involved with the body through sexually sadistic acts. This may be part of the old fantasy or development of a new one. While the offender who "freaked out" and gave himself up was in prison, he spent an enormous amount of psychic energy rehearsing and mastering the body disposal phase. After his release, he murdered eight more women. He stated, "I got rid of that icky feeling of messing with the dead. Only one guy that gets more casual around a body than me . . . a mortician or a pathologist. But some of my fantasies were so bizarre that it would turn the stomach of a pathologist."

Phase 4: Postcrime Behavior

During this phase, the murderer's fantasy becomes reality, providing a sense of purpose for the offender. The authorities are looking for him so he now focuses his energies on not getting caught and perhaps even into improving his methods for the next murder.

An important aspect of the postcrime behavior is the discovery of the body. This discovery is sometimes included in the fantasy, and the murderer may try to maintain his level of excitement. He may telephone or write to the police, or he may be in a crowd at the scene when the body is discovered. The murderer may even confess to the crime in order to accompany police to the location of the body.

The importance of postcrime events to the overall fantasy is illustrated by one case in which the offender worked as a hospital ambulance driver. He kidnaped his victims from the parking lot of a restaurant and took them to another location, where he raped and murdered them. He then anonymously telephoned the police to report seeing a body, returned to the hospital to receive the ambulance call, and then drove the ambulance with the body back to the hospital. In essence, he orchestrated a scene that he had rehearsed numerous times in his mind.

Conclusion

Sexual homicide is an act of control, dominance, and performance that is representative of an underlying fantasy embedded with violence, sexuality, and death. Yet, for some killers, one act of murder fulfills their fantasy, while others feel compelled to continue killing.

Some murderers, while in prison, attempt to determine how they failed in the murder in order to be successful the next time. Their need to repeat the act of murder is connected with their sense of control.

Other murderers live in fear of repeating the crime; their compulsion to kill is bewildering to them. They don't want to get caught, yet at the same time they are hoping they will be caught. Several murderers wrote "stop me" statements in notes to police or on the wall at the murder scene, while others turned themselves in to police. Yet, the fantasies continued. One killer stated, "It is a development . . . getting tired of a certain level of fantasy and then going even farther and even more bizarre. Year after year [the development continued] and finally it got off in such deep ends that I'm still not exposed to the worst of the fantasies that I have."

Interviews with sexual murderers provided information about their fantasies which, in turn, provide us with a partial answer to murders that appear to be motiveless. These crimes are committed, in part, as a result of the acting out of a psychological fantasy. These fantasies are extremely violent and range from rape to mutilation or torture and murder. Fantasies are an important part of the offender's basic personality and move beyond normal sexual, consenting, pleasure-based daydreams to aggressive, sadistic, and destructive thoughts. These fantasies become so vivid that they provide the impetus for the offender to act them out with victims of opportunity.

It is important for law enforcement officers to be aware of the existence of these fantasies and of the types of individuals who have them. While the crime, and therefore the fantasy, may appear to be bizarre to law enforcement, it is essential to realize that these fantasies play an important part in the offender's basic personality. Therefore, as law enforcement officers become sensitive to this phenomenon and seek out clues which imply the presence of fantasy, they will aid in profiling and apprehending the offender.

FBI

Footnote

Serial murderer convicted of killing 10 people.

Classifying Sexual Homicide Crime Scenes

Interrater Reliability

The unsolved homicide presents a major challenge to law enforcement officers. These unsolved cases, which often include a sex-related component, usually have no apparent motive. The victim has been sexually abused, and the nature of the killing indicates behavior patterns that reflect sexual deviation, specific character traits, and perhaps even psychopathology. Also referred to as lust murders,[1] these murders often include severe beating and multiple stabbing of the victim, body mutilation (such as removal of sexual organs), and sexualized positioning of the body after death.

The FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (BSU) has been involved since 1972 in assisting city, county, and State law enforcement agencies in their investigations of unsolved murders by preparing profiles of the unidentified offenders, after extensive examination of the crime scene data, victim characteristics, and autopsy reports. This profile may include the perpetrator's age, race, sex, socioeconomic and marital status, intellectual and educational level, occupation, lifestyle characteristics, arrest history, location of residence in relation to the scene, and certain character traits.

The Agents responsible for preparing the offender profiles have found it useful to classify the type of crime and the organizational structure of the crime scene. The crime is classified as sex-related, nonsexual, or unknown. Evidence of a sexual component anywhere within the crime scene justifies the sex-related classification. The organizational structure of the crime scene is determined by evidence of the amount of planning and premeditation by the offender, as well as of the offender's control over the victim. For example, a weapon taken to a crime scene and carried away suggests planning, as contrasted with a weapon used and left at the crime scene, suggesting opportunity and spontaneity.

In sex-related crimes, the structure of the crime scene provides insight into the offender's patterns of behavior. For example, a well-organized crime scene indicates an offender with a conscious plan of action after the murder to avoid detection and apprehension.

Currently, the BSU is systematically studying their profiling procedures through scientific and statistical analyses. Because of the importance of correctly classifying the crime and the crime scene, we needed to establish the reproducibility of these classifications. This article reports our investigation of the Agents' ability to reproduce independently each other's classifications. This ability to replicate decisions is called *interrater reliability.*

Study Design

Six BSU Special Agents with varying levels of experience in profiling participated in the reliability investigation. Data from 64 murder scenes, covering a variety of circumstances both sexual and nonsexual, were selected for the study. For each crime scene selected, one of the participating Agents was thoroughly familiar with the case. This Agent presented a short description of the crime scene and showed crime scene photos.

The presentation was restricted solely to information immediately available at the crime scene; no information from laboratory tests or later investigation was divulged. This restriction allowed the other Agents to focus on immediate data. Other details of the investigation, if discussed by the presenter, might have influenced the Agents in forming their

"This study demonstrated that there is reliability in the classification of crime types and scenes by BSU Agents."

Unknown Homicide

When it is not obvious whether a crime is sex-related, the homicide is classified as unknown. For example, a skeleton buried or abandoned may not provide useful evidence, and a partially decomposed body may give confused indications, expecially if the body has been mauled by an animal.

Structure of the Crime Scene

After the classification of crime type, each Agent was asked to classify independently the structure of the crime scene as organized, disorganized, mixed, or unknown. The presenter also classified the crime scenes based on what he believed the scene alone indicated. The distribution of the 64 murder scenes, as given by the presenters, is shown in figure 2.

Figure 2
Crime Scene Classification By Presenters

Crime Scene Type	Number	Percent
Organized	31	48.4
Disorganized	21	32.8
Mixed	9	14.1
Unknown	3	4.7
Total	64	100.0

Organized Crime Scene

The organized crime scene indicates planning and premeditation on the part of the offender. For example, the crime may be committed in a secluded or isolated area selected by the murderer, or the victim may be killed in one location and transported to another.

Case D: This case involved a series of homicides in which the victims, who were found in rivers, had automotive parts tied to their bodies. The female victims were all grossly mutilated (removal of breasts and feet, pelvic damage). The victims had been reported as missing during the course of a day; one never returned after shopping. There were indications that they had been kept for several days before being thrown into the river. The murderer would have needed a car to transport them from where they were last seen alive to where their bodies were discovered.

Disorganized Crime Scene

The disorganized crime scene indicates spontaneity and a more frenzied assault. The scene itself is most likely the location of encounter.

Case E: A 16-year-old girl was last seen leaving to ride her horse in a favorite riding area. Police were notified when she was several hours late in returning home. A search team found the girl's body one-half mile from the farm where she lived. Her body was face up, spread-eagled, jeans and underpants pulled down to the ankles, a hooded sweatshirt draped across the left breast, her bra was pulled below both breasts, and another item of clothing was draped across her neck. A 10-inch vertical cut was present at the base of her neck; another cut was just below her right jaw. Blunt-force wounds were present on her head. It was determined at the crime scene that she had been raped, but probably after death.

Mixed Crime Scene

The mixed crime scene has signs of both organization and disorganization. There may be two or more offenders involved in the homicide, or the offender may begin the crime in an organized manner before his planning deteriorates as unanticipated events occur. Inconsistencies are noted in the behavior of the offender. Although the organized or disorganized classifications fit many cases, not all crime scenes fit into one of these categories. In addition, crime scenes may display varying degrees of organization and disorganization. It is in these instances that the mixed category is useful.

Case F: A 21-year-old woman's body, partially hidden from view, was found at a garbage dump. The body had stab wounds in the vagina and groin, and the victim's throat had been slashed. In addition, her nipples had been amputated and her face severely beaten. Her hair had been cut and was found hanging from a nearby tree branch. Test results indicated the victim had been sexually assaulted and murdered shortly after leaving her job. Investigation revealed two brothers were involved in the murder, one of whom the victim was living with at the time of her death.

Unknown Crime Scenes

The unknown scene pertains to those cases that cannot be classified based on immediate crime scene data. For example, a decomposed, buried body probably would not provide enough information upon which a classification could be based.

Figure 3

Agreement of Agents' Homicide Type Classifications With Presenter's Classification

Agent	Cases Classified	Case Agreed	Percent Agreement
1	62	48	77.4
2	40	35	87.5
3	55	45	81.8
4	30	23	76.7
5	27	25	92.6

RESULTS

Type of Crime

Not all participating Agents were available to classify each of the 64 homicide types (sexual, nonsexual, or unknown). In total, the 6 Agents made 285 classifications, 64 of which were made by the Agent presenting the case. Thus, there were 221 classifications that could be used for comparison with the presenter's classifications. Of these, 180 classifications (81.4 percent) agreed with the presenter's classification.

Of the 6 Agents, 1 Agent made 57 (89 percent) of the presentations. Because the percentage of his presentations was so large, comparing his classifications with the presenter's would not be informative. The agreement rate for the other five Agents and the number of cases they classified are shown in figure 3. Given the minimal amount of information supplied by the presenter, these agreement rates are high.

When the classifications of each Agent were compared with those of any other Agent, the agreement rate ranged from 77 percent to 100 percent. Again, these are high agreement rates.

Structure of Crime Scene

There were 220 classifications of the structure of the crime scene (organized, disorganized, mixed, unknown) that could be used for comparison with the presenter's classification. Of these, 163 (74.1 percent) agreed with the presenter. (See fig. 4.)

The agreement rate between any two Agents ranged from 45 percent to 89 percent. The agreement rates of Agents with the presenter and with each other varied substantially. This appears due mainly to variation in experience and involvement with the process of classifying crime scenes. The agreement rates among the three Agents routinely involved with this process ranged from 62 percent to 80 percent. Given the minimal data supplied by the presenter, these agreement rates must be considered good. However, classification in any field is a skill learned and reinforced by continuous involvement. In the medical field, for example, the diagnosis of a patient's medical condition is similarly learned and reinforced through continuous involvement.

The interrater reliability study evaluated the agreement of Agents in classifying homicide by the type of crime and by the structure of the crime scene. In particular, the classification of crime scenes as organized has proven to be useful in profiling offenders in unsolved and motiveless murders.

This study demonstrated that there is reliability in the classification of crime types and scenes by BSU Agents. Given only minimal information about the crime, agreements of Agents with respect to crime types was high (at least 77 percent). Agreement of Agents with respect to classifying the crime scene, while not as high as the crime-type agreement, appeared to be related to Agent experience and involvement in the classification process. For experienced and active Agents, who were given only minimal information about the crime scene, agreement rates ranged from 62 percent to 80 percent. More information would certainly have improved the agreement rates.

FBI

Footnote

Robert R. Hazelwood and John Douglas, "The Lust Murderer," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, April 1980, p. 6.

Figure 4

Agreement of Agents' Crime Scene Classifications with Presenter's Classification

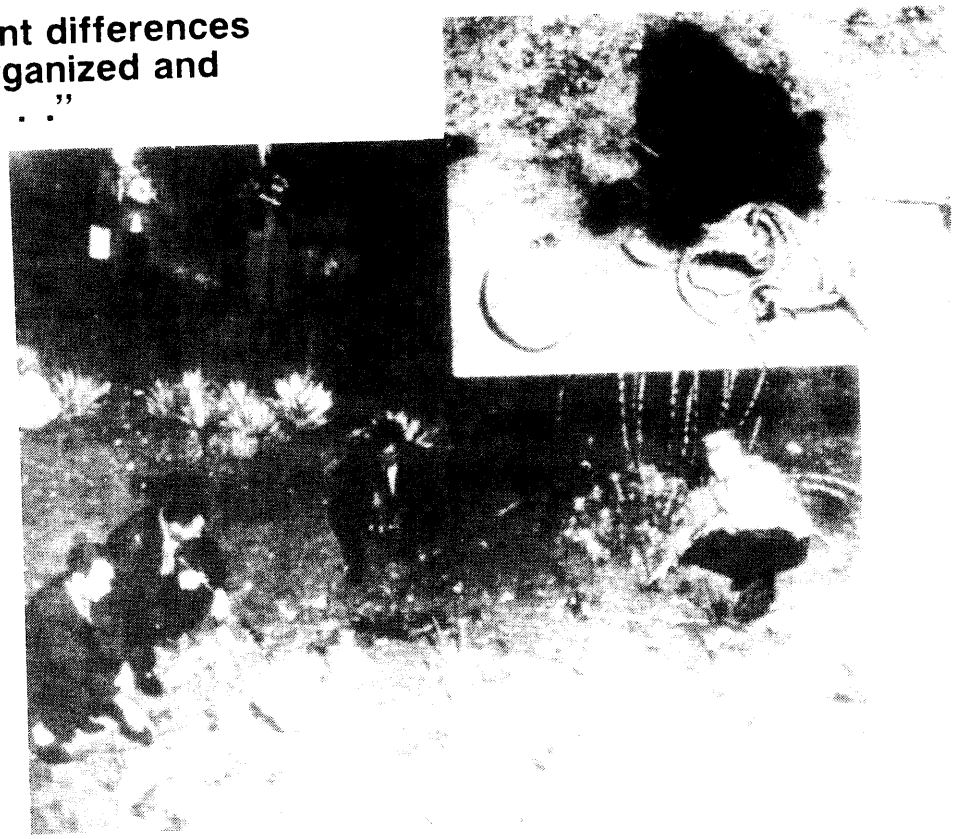
Agent	Cases Classified	Cases Agreed	Percent Agreement
1	62	48	77.4
2	40	28	70.0
3	55	42	76.4
4	29	15	51.7
5	27	23	85.2

Chapter 4

Crime Scene and Profile Characteristics of Organized and Disorganized Murderers

". . . there were significant differences in the crime scenes of organized and disorganized offenders. . . ."

When requested by a law enforcement agency to assist in a violent crime investigation, the Agents at the Behavioral Science Unit (BSU) of the FBI Academy provide a behaviorally based suspect profile. Using information received from law enforcement about the crime and crime scene, the Agents have developed a technique for classifying murderers into one of two categories—organized or disorganized, a classification method evolving from years of experience and knowledge. In the service of advancing the art of profiling, the Agents were anxious to know if this classification system could be scientifically tested. This article describes the research study and statistical tests performed by a health services research staff on data collected.



Crime scene of an organized offender investigated by Pierce Brooks in 1958 while a homicide detective sergeant with the Los Angeles Police Department.

Objectives of the Study

Thirty-six convicted sexual murderers were interviewed by FBI Agents for a study on sexual homicide crime scenes and patterns of criminal behavior. These study subjects represented 25 serial murderers (the murder of separate victims, with time breaks between victims ranging from 2 days to weeks or months) and 11 sexual murderers who had committed either a single homicide, double homicide, or spree murder.

The major objectives of this study were to test, using statistical inferential procedures, whether there are significant behavioral differences at the crime scenes between crimes committed by organized and disorganized murderers and to identify variables that may be useful in profiling orga-

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"Victims of serial murderers have been noted to share common characteristics."

nized and disorganized murderers. In order for the study to achieve its objectives, the Agents first had to classify the 36 murderers into the organized or disorganized group, the breakdown being 24 organized murderers and 12 disorganized murderers.

Results of Analyses

The study determined that there were significant differences in the crime scenes of organized and disorganized offenders, and that certain background differences were also found between them. There were four aspects of the crime where differences between organized and disorganized murderers were analyzed: (1) The murderer's action during the offense, (2) victim characteristics, (3) use of vehicles in the crime, and (4) types of evidence left at the crime scene. Table 1 provides the profile characteristics that achieved levels of significance between the organized and disorganized murderers, while table 2 shows the crime scene characteristics for the two groups.

Table 1

Profile Characteristics of Organized and Disorganized Murders

ORGANIZED	DISORGANIZED
Average to above-average intelligence	Below-average intelligence
Socially competent	Socially inadequate
Skilled work preferred	Unskilled work
Sexually competent	Sexually incompetent
High birth order status	Low birth order status
Father's work stable	Father's work unstable
Inconsistent childhood discipline	Harsh discipline as child
Controlled mood during crime	Anxious mood during crime
Use of alcohol with crime	Minimal use of alcohol
Precipitating situational stress	Minimal situational stress
Living with partner	Living alone
Mobility with car in good condition	Lives/works near crime scene
Follows crime in news media	Minimal interest in news media
May change jobs or leave town	Significant behavior change (drug/alcohol abuse, religiosity, etc.)

Organized Offender: Profile Characteristics

Organized offenders have a high birth order, often being the first born son in a family. The father's work history is generally stable, and parental discipline is perceived as inconsistent.

Although the organized offender has an average or better than average IQ, he often works at occupations below his abilities, yet prefers a skilled occupation. His work history is also sporadic.

Precipitating situational stress, such as problems with finances, marriages, employment, and relationships with females, is often present prior to the murder. The organized offender is socially adept and is usually living with a partner.

The organized offender may report an angry frame of mind at the time of the murder or state he was depressed. However, while committing the crime, he admits being calm and relaxed. Alcohol may have been consumed prior to the crime.

The organized offender is likely to have a car that is in good condition. Evidence of continued fantasy is present in terms of taking rembrances of the victim or crime scene. Newspaper clippings of the crimes are

Table 2

Crime Scene Differences Between Organized and Disorganized Murderers

ORGANIZED	DISORGANIZED
Planned offense	Spontaneous offense
Victim a targeted stranger	Victim/location known
Personalizes victim	Depersonalizes victim
Controlled conversation	Minimal conversation
Crime scene reflects overall control	Crime scene random and sloppy
Demands submissive victim	Sudden violence to victim
Restraints used	Minimal use of restraints
Aggressive acts prior to death	Sexual acts after death
Body hidden	Body left in view
Weapon/evidence absent	Evidence/weapon often present
Transports victim or body	Body left at death scene

"Fantasy and ritual dominate with the organized offender. . . ."

often found during searches of the subject's residence, indicating the offender followed the criminal investigation in the newspaper.

Crime Scene

The initial observation at the crime scene of an organized offender is that some semblance of order existed prior, during, and after the offense. This scene of methodical organization suggests a carefully planned crime that is aimed at deterring detection.

Although the crime may be planned, the victim is frequently a stranger and is targeted because he or she is in a particular location staked out by the offender. In this sense, the victim becomes a victim of opportunity. Victims of serial murderers have been noted to share common characteristics. The offender often has a preference for a particular type of victim, and thus, may spend considerable time searching for the "right" victim. As one offender said: "I'm a night person. Plenty of times that I went out looking, but never came across nothing and just went back home. I'd sit waiting, and as I was waiting, I was reliving all the others."

Common characteristics of victims selected by an individual murderer may include age, appearance, occupation, hairstyle, or lifestyle. Targeted victims in this sample included adolescent male youths, hitchhiking college coeds, nurses, women frequenting bars, women sitting in automobiles with male companions, and solitary women driving two-door cars.

The organized offender is socially adept and may engage in conversation or a pseudo-relationship with the victim as a prelude to the attack. Offenders may use impersonation as a method to gain access to a victim. The offender's demeanor is not usually suspicious. He may be average or above average in appearance, height, and weight; he may be dressed in a business suit, uniform, or neat, casual attire. In the organized style of attack, aimed at gaining the confidence of the victim, there is first the effort to use verbal means to capture the victim rather than physical force. The organized offender frequently uses his or the victim's vehicle in the offense.

Rape, as well as murder, may be the planned crime. Murder is always a possibility following rape; the assailant threatens the victim's life and brandishes a weapon. Sexual control is continued past conversation to demands for specific types of reactions (fear, passivity) during the sexual assault. When the victim's behavior stops being passive and compliant, aggression may be increased by the offender.

Control over the victim is also noted in the use of restraints, such as a rope, chain, tape, belt, clothing, chemical, handcuffs, gag, and blindfold. The way weapons are used may suggest a sadistic element in the offender's plan. The killing is eroticized, as in torture where death comes in a slow, deliberate manner. The power over another person's life is seen in one example in which a murderer described tightening and loosening the rope around the victim's neck as he watched the victim slip in and out of a conscious state.

Fantasy and ritual dominate with the organized offender; obsessive, compulsive traits surface in the behavior and/or crime scene patterns. The offender often brings a weapon with him to the crime, taking it with him upon departure. He carefully avoids leaving evidence behind and often moves the body from the death scene.

While sexual acts are part of the fantasy planning of the crime, murder may not be a conscious motive until there is a triggering cue. This is illustrated by one murderer's following statement:

> "I had thought about killing her . . . saying what am I going to do when this is over. Am I going to let her go so she can call the cops and get me busted again? So when she took off running—that decided it in my mind that killing her was what I was going to do."

Case Example of an Organized Offender

The following case involves the rapes and murders of five women by one juvenile offender:

Victim 1: A woman in her late 20's was found about 150 yards into a wooded culvert area outside her apartment. Her car was found in the parking lot.

Recreating the scene, police speculated that the victim was approached after she parked her car. It was known she arrived home late at night from work. She was found in a stream after being assaulted, drowned, and strangled. Her head had been held under water while she was being strangled. There was no evidence of severe beating to the body; although some defense wounds were present, mutilation did not occur.

The only item taken from the victim was a ring of little value. The victim was found partially clothed. Her shoes, found further down the trail, suggested the location of the sexual

assault. Footprints were present at this site; tire tracks were not. The victim lived in a highrise building with many apartments, parking lots, and cars.

Victim 2: A woman in her mid-20's was found fully dressed in a wooded area less than a quarter mile from the location of the first victim. She was not near water. She had been stabbed to death repeatedly in the chest. Although there was evidence of sexual assault, there was no overkill to the body, no mutilation. Again, the victim was coming home late at night. Apparently she parked her car and was abducted prior to reaching her apartment.

Victim 3: This victim was similar in physical appearance, age, and manner killed to the second victim. There was evidence of sexual assault; underclothing in disarray suggested she was re-dressed after death. A stocking was missing, although her shoes were on.

Victim 4: Several months later, a similar crime occurred in the same general vicinity. A black woman, in her early 30's, was found dead. She usually worked late and arrived home between 2:00 and 3:00 a.m. Her car was also parked where she would have entered the apartment building. Although discovered further away than the other victims, she was still not more than a half mile from where she lived. There was evidence of sexual assault, and she too had been strangled and drowned. The method and location were similar to the first crime scene and was consistent with the work schedule of the victim.

Victim 5: The fifth victim, a woman in her mid-20's, was last seen at a party at 1:30 or 2:30 a.m. She left the party with several people and was later found dead in the same wooded culvert area as previous victims. She was found stabbed several times in the chest and had been partially buried in the culvert. There was evidence of sexual assault.

Considering the dynamics and pattern of the aforementioned case, the following crime scene assessment and subsequent criminal personality profiling would be possible.

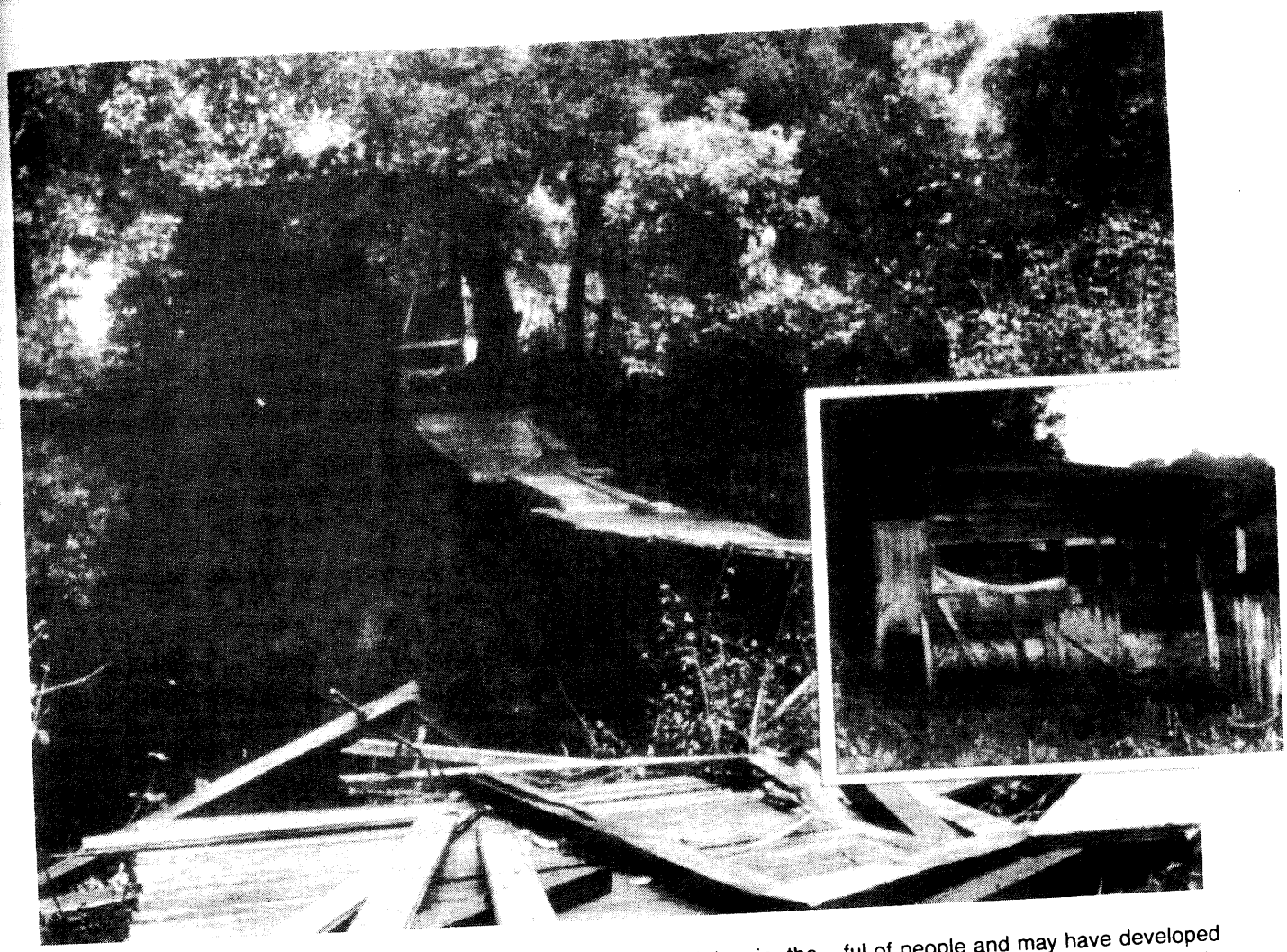
The offender selects victims who are returning home during the late evening or early morning hours. The assaults generally take place near the victims' homes, as they are walking from their parked cars. The offender is watching the parking areas for single women returning during these times. He takes the victims from the apartment complex to wooded areas close by for the assaults. He chooses the time and place of assault. Since no scream or resistance is evident, one must assume the assailant carries a weapon and instructs the victims to accompany him to the secluded area. This indicates a persuasive, articulate person who convinces them no harm will come to them if they "do as he instructs." He would be manipulative and have a history of antisocial traits and behavior. He is youthful and aggressive, probably macho.

Since he uses the same MO in each assault, one must assume he knows the territory well, both the traveled built-up areas and the surrounding woods. He probably lives in the area, is youthful, and has grown up and played in the woods as a child. He is a long-term resident.

Medical examination and crime scene assessment show rape prior to death, and death is sudden with minimal mutilation, again indicating the well-planned crime by the organized antisocial criminal. The victims are "sized up" prior to the approach, and the killer knows they will not resist if he promises release after rape. He has raped before the killing started, but some life trauma has triggered the taking of the life of victim #1. The offender has had past problems with law enforcement, and once he has killed, he feels he must continue to kill to avoid victims testifying against him. He does not value the life of a victim over the chance that she may identify him to the police.

In summary, the assailant in the five homicides is an organized, antisocial personality. He is a youthful white male, has good intelligence, is articulate and manipulative. He fits into the community and has lived there for many years. He lives in close proximity to all victims. He precipitates his crimes with alcohol and/or drugs, possibly is first born in his family, and is sexually competent. He probably has a girlfriend; yet had a recent problem with her prior to the first killing. Considering his age, he would live with a single parent and would have no car since he selects victims on foot, sometimes using their cars in the assault. He probably would follow the media reports of the crime and may be in a crowd of onlookers when the police locate the bodies.

The police investigation in this case of multiple rape-murder led to a 17-year-old white male living very close to all victims who lived within a



1-mile radius in a large city suburb. He was bright, yet a marginal achiever in school, lived with his mother, and did not own a car. He was known as a macho ladies' man and a "con artist" among his peers. He used beer and marijuana to precipitate his offense and selected victims in an area he grew up in. He had a girlfriend he called "his fiancee" who jilted him shortly before murder #1, when she went away to college. He followed the crime in the paper, and on one occasion, watched the police investigator from his window. He had a lengthy juvenile record, including sexual assault and rape.

Disorganized Offender: Profile Characteristics

The disorganized offender is likely to be of below-average intelligence or of low birth status in the family. Also, harsh parental discipline is sometimes reported as a child. The father's work history is unstable, and the disorganized offender seems to mirror this pattern with his own inconsistent and poor work history. Typically, this offender is preoccupied with recurring obsessional and/or primitive thoughts and is in a confused and distressed frame of mind at the time of the crime.

The disorganized offender is socially inadequate. Often, he has never married, lives alone or with a parental figure, and lives in close proximity to the crime scene. This offender is fearful of people and may have developed a well-defined delusional system. He acts impulsively under stress, finding a victim usually within his own geographic area.

The disorganized offender is also sexually incompetent, often never having achieved any level of sexual intimacy with a peer. Although the offenders in this sample claimed to be heterosexual, there is a clear suggestion that the disorganized offender is ignorant of sex and often may have sexual aversions.

Crime Scene

The overall imprint of the disorganized crime scene is that the crime is committed suddenly and with no set plan of action for deterring detection.

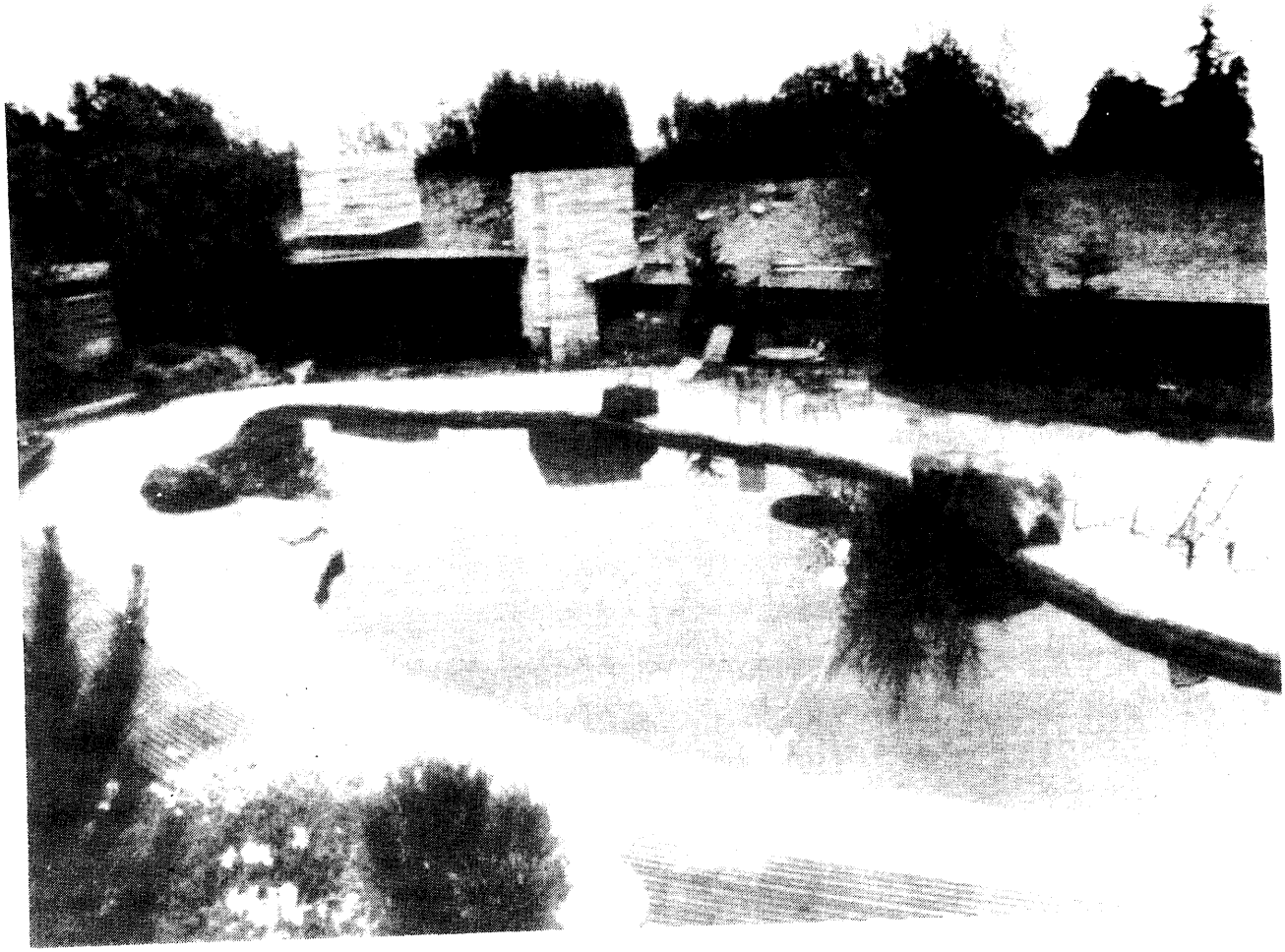
Pictured below is a crime scene of a disorganized offender who, as a result of his paranoid psychotic delusions, killed an entire family and left their bodies floating in the pool. His residence, pictured left, reflects his paranoid state of mind in that the plank bridge leading to the shack was drawn each night to protect him from his "enemies."

The crime scene shows great disarray. There is a spontaneous, symbolic, unplanned quality to the crime scene. The victim may be known to the offender, but age and sex of the victim do not necessarily matter.

If the offender is selecting a victim by randomly knocking on doors in a neighborhood, the first person to open a door becomes the victim. The offender kills instantly to have control; he cannot risk that the victim will get the upper hand.

The offender uses a blitz style of attack for confronting the victim, who is caught completely off guard. He either approaches the victim from behind, unexpectedly overpowering her, or he kills suddenly, as with a gun. The attack is a violent surprise, occurring spontaneously and in a location where the victim is going about his or her usual activities.

The offender depersonalizes the victim, targeting specific areas of the body for extreme brutality. Overkill or



". . . variables do exist that may be useful in a criminal profile and that do differentiate between organized and disorganized sexual murderers."

excessive assault to the face often is an attempt to dehumanize the victim. Such facial destruction may indicate knowledge of the victim or that the victim resembles or represents a person who has caused the offender psychological distress. The offender may wear a mask or gloves, use a blindfold on the victim, or cover the victim's face as he attacks. There is minimal verbal interaction except for orders and threats. Restraints are not necessary, as the victim is killed quickly.

Any sexually sadistic acts, often in the form of mutilation, are usually performed after death. Offenders have attempted a variety of sexual acts, including ejaculating into an open stab wound in the victim's abdomen. Evidence of urination, defecation, and masturbation has been found on the victim's clothing and in the home. Mutilation to the face, genitals, and breast, disembowelment, amputation, and vampirism may also be noted on the body.

Disorganized offenders might keep the dead body. One murderer killed two women and kept their body parts in his home for 8 years. He made masks from their heads and drums and seat covers from their skins. Earlier, he had exhumed the bodies of eight elderly women from their graves and performed similar mutilative acts.

The death scene and crime scene are usually the same in murders committed by the disorganized offender, with the victim being left in the position in which she or he was killed. If the offender has mutilated the body, it may be positioned in a special way that has significance to the offender.

No attempt is made to conceal the body. Fingerprints and footprints may be found, and the police have a great deal of evidence to use in their investigation. Usually, the murder weapon is one obtained at the scene and is left there, providing investigators with evidence.

Case Example of a Disorganized Offender

Murder 1: A husband returning from work at 6:00 p.m. discovered his wife's body in the bedroom of their home. An autopsy revealed she had been murdered sometime in the morning after being confronted by the assailant as she went to empty the garbage outside. The victim was shot in the head four times, and thereafter, disemboweled with a knife obtained in her home. Other than slash wounds to breasts and mutilation to internal reproductive organs, no evidence of sexual assault or molestation was found. The victim was first slashed in the abdomen, and the assailant pulled her intestines out of the body cavity. The victim had what was later determined to be animal feces in her mouth. Garbage was strewn about the house. A yogurt cup was found, and indications were that the murderer used the cup to collect blood from the victim, which he then drank.

Crime 2: On the same date, a house burglary occurred within one-quarter mile of the victim's residence. Garbage was strewn throughout the home. Evidence indicated the burglar urinated on female clothing and also defecated in the house. No one was home at the time.

Crime 3: Two days later, the carcass of a dog was found in the same neighborhood. The dog had been shot in the head, and the bullet was determined to have come from the gun used in the first murder. The dog was disemboweled.

Murder 2: Four days after the first slaying, a woman, waiting for a male friend to pick her up for a day's outing with her neighbor, noticed the man's car had pulled into her neighbor's driveway. She telephoned to say she would be right over; however, receiving no answer, she looked out her window again to note the man's car was now gone. Becoming suspicious, she went over to the house and discovered the bodies of her male friend, her female neighbor, and the neighbor's child. A 22-month infant was missing from the home; however, a bullet hole was found in the pillow of the child's crib, along with what appeared to be brain and skull matter. This was also found in the half-filled bathtub, indicating the child had been killed and the body washed and removed from the scene. The female victim had been severely slashed and mutilated. She had been murdered in the bedroom where she had been disemboweled from breast bone to pelvic area. Internal organs, including spleen, kidneys, and reproductive organs, had been removed and mutilated. No attack was noted to external genitals. The murderer had attempted to remove an eye and also had inserted a knife into the anal canal, cutting the victim severely in this area. Definite fingerprints with blood were found on the abdomen, shoulders, and legs of this victim. Additionally, a ring of blood was found on the floor, indicating a bucket-type container was used to collect blood.

The following information was extracted from a profile developed by the BSU:

Suspect description: White male aged 25–27; thin, undernourished

appearance; single, living alone in a location within 1 mile of the abandoned station wagon owned by one of the victims. Residence will be extremely slovenly and unkempt, and evidence of the crimes will be found at the residence. Suspect will have a history of mental illness and use of drugs. Suspect will be an unemployed loner who does not associate with either males or females and will probably spend a great deal of time in his own residence. If he resides with anyone, it will be with his parents. However, this is unlikely. Subject will have no prior military history; will be a high school or college dropout; probably suffers from one or more forms of paranoid psychosis.

The police narrowed their search to a 1-mile radius of the stolen vehicle, seeking a man of the suspect's description. A 27-year-old white male, 5'11" and weighing 149 pounds, was located in an apartment complex within the same block as the abandoned car. The man was in possession of a gun that matched the murder weapon in the slayings. Also found in the apartment were numerous body parts thought to be animal and possibly human. The man had previously been diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic and had been committed to a mental facility after he was found sucking blood from a dead bird. After he had been released, he was found in the desert bloodstained and wearing a loincloth. He told police he was sacrificing to flying saucers. He was released by police; however, later a child's body was found in the same vicinity. Evidence was found in his apartment indicating his obsession with blood, mutilation, and possible cannibalism of humans and animals.

Conclusion

In summary, this research study of differences between organized and disorganized sexual murderers with regard to profile characteristics and crime scene indicators provides an important foundation for the investigative technique of criminal profiling. By achieving the two study objectives, we have established that variables do exist that may be useful in a criminal profile and that do differentiate between organized and disorganized sexual murderers. It is important to be aware of the limitations of this study. We do not mean to imply that all unsolved cases can be profiled successfully. We wish to emphasize that this study was exploratory and indicates that we have identified significant variables in crime scene analysis.

A second important step can now be taken—that is, performing test profiles using previously identified variables and comparing results with cases which have already been profiled by BSU Agents. These test profiles would be the second phase for advancing the scientific study of the profiling process.

Further refinement of profile characteristics and deductive reasoning used by "experts" will provide an advancement in the state of the art in building an "expert knowledge-based system" for law enforcement. Expert knowledge-based systems are a subset of the field of artificial intelligence and are derived by using knowledge and reasoning patterns of experts to create computer programs which emulate these experts. These systems are easy to use, require minimal training, and have English-language interface with the users. Expert systems, currently used in many fields, are continually being adapted as more knowledge is gained through their use and application. As in these other applications, expert systems will never replace skilled law enforcement representatives, but are a tool that is continually being updated by the knowledge gained through use. **FBI**

Chapter 5

Interviewing Techniques for Homicide Investigations

This article discusses techniques that have been used in the interviews of persons who have already been convicted. Law enforcement officers should seek appropriate legal advice before using these techniques in attempts to obtain judicially admissible confessions.

One goal of the study of sexual homicide crime scenes and criminal behavior patterns was to explore how murderers commit their crimes. An in-depth analysis of interviews with convicted murderers allowed us to retrieve first-hand information about their patterns of values and beliefs, patterns of information storage, levels of recall on the crimes, and admission of responsibility for the murders.

This article presents our experiences in interviewing convicted serial sexual murderers with the hope of adding to law enforcement's knowledge of interviewing techniques. Although our interviews were conducted with murderers already convicted and incarcerated, we believe our observations provide insight for interviewing suspects in order to identify a killer.

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". . . the interviewer needs to be thoroughly familiar with any pertinent existing information, including crime scene photographs, records, and files."

Terms of the Interview

Before beginning any interview, the interviewer needs to be thoroughly familiar with any pertinent existing information, including crime scene photographs, records, and files. This information can be used not only to draw conclusions but to establish a focused interest in the offender. By showing interest, respect is conveyed to the suspect, an initial objective in establishing rapport. Although it is often difficult in cases of violent and brutal crimes, this show of respect often allows the interviewer to get to the point of the interview more quickly since less time will be spent by the subject in evaluating the interviewer.

To be successful, the interviewer needs to convince the subject that the interview can be beneficial for him or her. In our study, some offenders admitted their crimes. In these situations they found value in the interview, believing they were contributing to increased understanding or to clarify other people's conclusions about them. Offenders who would not admit to their crimes cooperated in order to point out why it was impossible for them to have committed the crimes. Other offenders consented to the interviews in order to "teach" police how the crimes were committed and motivated. Those who refused interviews had reasons ranging from advice of an attorney to their own psychotic states.

The Communication Link

Rapport was the key communication link in our interviews. Once established and recognized, it allowed the interviewer to lead the interview and to re-establish communication when it broke down. Rapport was frequently gained when the investigator mirrored, below the level of conscious awareness, the subject's spoken and unspoken behavior. This included matching the words of the subject, adopting aspects of his posture, and speaking in a similar tone and rate of speech.

Eliciting Information

Once communication had been initiated and rapport established, the questioning began. In our study, the what/where/when sequencing and descriptions of places where the crime events occurred were sought first. Next, the interviewing Agents asked questions about how the victim was chosen. Finally, questions about thoughts, feelings, and images were posed.

Questions were generally organized around four phases of the murder. These phases are: (1) The precrime phase, (2) the murder event, (3) the disposal of the body, and (4) the postcrime phase.

Precrime Phase—Conscious motive for the murder was often elicited by asking what triggered the murder. Those murderers with conscious intent were able to describe this in detail. Those without conscious motive would usually say they could not remember why they killed, but they were able to describe their feelings prior to the murder. Reconstructing the scene prior to the murder helped interviewing Agents determine the cues that moved the offender's murder fantasy into action. For example, offenders were asked to describe their day prior to the murder and their thoughts and feelings before encountering the victim.

The Murder Event—Memory recall of details specific to the murders varied among the offenders interviewed. Those murderers who deliberately planned the murder through a fantasy generally continued to remember details about certain aspects of the murder. During one interview, the Agents remarked that the subject seemed to have almost total recall. The subject corrected the Agents:

> "Actually, that's overblown because I really don't (remember everything). I have shabby memory on things I don't want to remember, and things that are shocking or very vivid, I don't forget. I trip on those for years."

What the subject avoids or refuses to talk about provides information on areas where strong emotions may exist. (In one case, the murderer began the interview by stating he would not discuss his family.) The interviewer should concentrate on important aspects of the event, such as how the suspect gained access to the victim, conversation and behavior involving the victim, transporting the victim from one location to another, what the murderer did sexually before, during, and after the victim's death, methods of torture, behaviors after the victim's death (such as mutilation or amputation), and thoughts and feeling during these acts.

Disposal of the Body—Our interviews with the murderers made clear the importance of a fantasy in disposing the victim's body. Once the act was committed, the murderer had to

"Because of the importance of fantasy to sexual homicide, information about a subject's fantasy can be valuable."

This sketch, and those that follow, were drawn by a convicted rapist who was interviewed as part of the FBI's research program. He was asked to draw:

Himself at a younger age . . .

decide what to do with the body. At this phase, the murderer may first consciously realize the reality of his act. Our questions concentrated on what was done with the body, how the offender left the scene, what (if anything) was taken from the body or the crime scene, and what thoughts and feelings did the murderer experience during these various acts.

Postcrime Phase—A series of behaviors occur after a murder. We asked each offender what he did right after the murder (did he wash or change clothes, go out with friends, go to sleep, or eat); how he thought and felt about it; whether he dreamt about it; whether he returned to the crime scene, attended the funeral, read about the murder in the newspaper; or talked to police. We were careful to include questions about the recovery of the body (did the offender assist police in the recovery, was he present when the body was recovered, and was his confession necessary for police to find the body).

Specific Techniques

Because of the importance of fantasy to sexual homicide, information about a subject's fantasy can be valuable. However, people with a longstanding fantasy life may not talk about it easily. Often a low-key approach is successful in encouraging the discussion of the fantasy. A fantasy is an elaborate thought with great preoccupation and emotion. The person keeps going back to the thoughts. The subject may only be aware of images, feelings, and internal dialog at certain heightened times.

One of the indications of the presence of a fantasy is the great amount of detail provided by a subject, details that provide the best information on how the subject operates. For many of the murderers we interviewed, their detailed planning was their statement of superiority, control, and cleverness. The fantasy usually provided a sense of power and control, as well as emotional stimulation. In some instances, the fantasy appeared to protect them from becoming totally disorganized or psychotic. We discovered this, through interviews, in their reports of becoming enraged when victims inter-

rupted their plans. These murderers were very sensitive to being called crazy or maniacal, as they associated those characteristics with carrying out acts in ways that are stupid, foolish, and not in control.

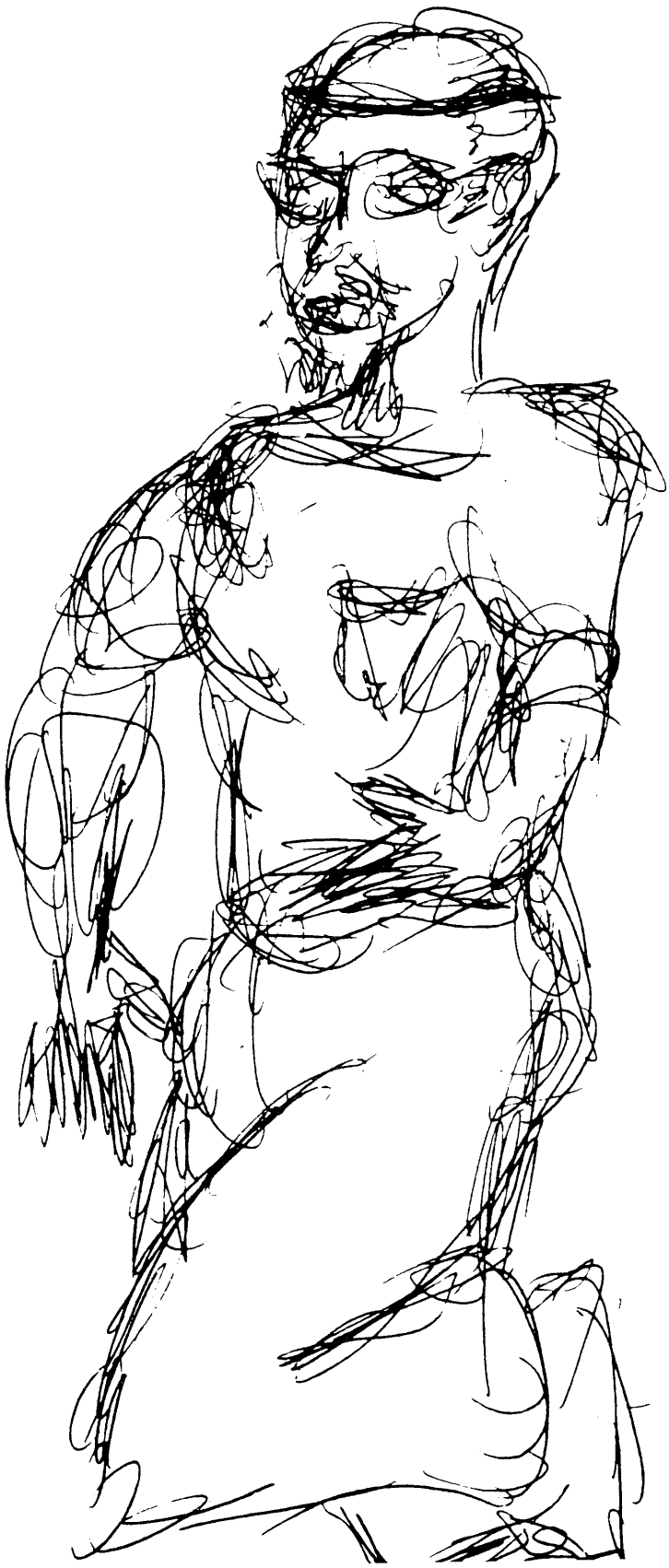
The importance of terminology used in the interview was illustrated in one case:

> Agent: Do you think your fantasy life was out of control?
> Subject: I'm going to have to change your terminology, not because I'm banting words, but my fantasy world, no I don't think it was out of control, I think my world of realism was out of control. My perception of the real world was distorted.

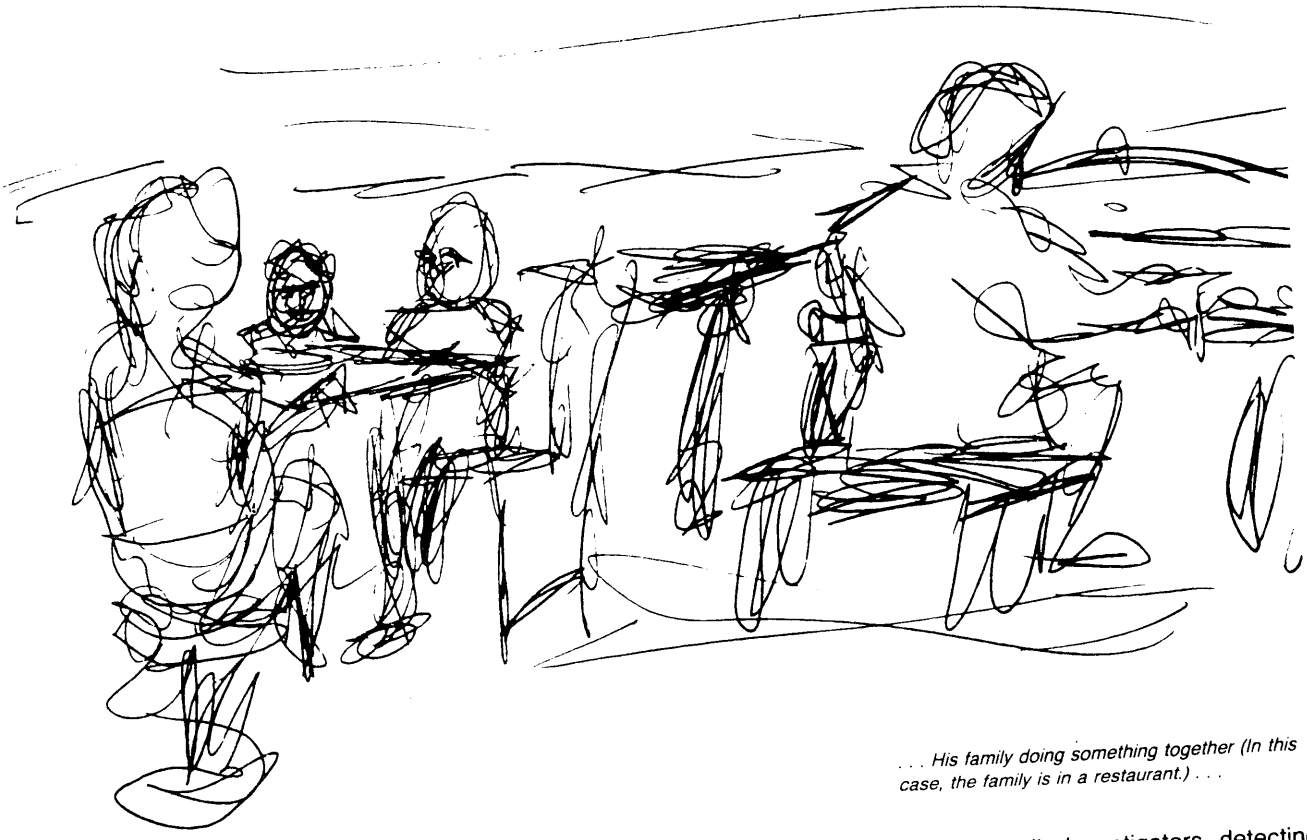
This exchange illustrated how the murderer felt in control of his fantasy and out of control in the real world.

In contrast to murderers who consciously plan a crime through fantasy, our interviews revealed that some murderers acted more in response to external cues. Such people may not be able to relate why a particular act happened. These murderers were concerned with particular acts at certain times; suddenly, they lost control. It is possible to talk about the existence of the fantasies without eliciting details of them and to obtain information about the serial murderer's blockage of certain memories:

> Agent: Did you have any unusual fantasies preoccupying you to any period of time or that you felt you were over-involved in?



. . . Himself now . . .



. . . His family doing something together (In this case, the family is in a restaurant.) . . .

> Subject: Well, I can't say if I have or I don't. There are a lot of aspects of this crime I can't give an answer, cause I put up a mental block. I don't want to think of it. It makes me do bad time. I'm doing a long time and I just block it clear out.

The murderer confirms the likelihood that the fantasies are there; however, additional techniques, such as hypnosis or therapy, would be needed to access the information.

Continuum of Admission

The offender generally took one of three positions regarding guilt—admitting the crime, admitting lack of total recall, and not admitting the crime. In our study, the majority of murderers admitted their crimes. Some of the murderers turned themselves in to the police; others admitted to the crime when they were apprehended. Still others admitted guilt when confronted with evidence. As one murderer told the interviewing agents, "The police unwrapped the broomhandle and that did it." Several of the murderers interviewed were unable to remember actually committing the murder, but agreed the evidence incriminated them.

One group of murderers interviewed did not admit to their crimes even after their convictions for the murders. When confronted with such individuals, the interviewer should attempt to determine if the individual is lying (which implies conscious intent) or if the individual is denying (which implies subconscious intent).

To the offender, lying to an investigator provides a form of control. It may detour the investigator and waste valuable time, as in situations in which incorrect names and addresses are given.

One way investigators identify lies is on the basis of the amount of detail a subject provides. Fantasy worlds or delusions are usually very detailed. However, when a subject tries to feign psychosis or delusion, his story usually appears inconsistent and lacking in detail. Investigators detecting this type of defense and bringing it to the offender's attention may be successful. In one case, the murderer claimed to have committed the murders because of instructions from a centuries-old dog. The Agents refused to accept this ploy. They pointed out good naturedly that the murders had been carefully planned and executed, which was a lot to expect from a dog. The murderer finally accepted the "credit" for the crimes and discussed them in detail with the interviewers. Even when suspecting that a subject is lying or denying, the interviewer should try to maintain an atmosphere of mutual respect.

There are reasons why a suspect might deny a crime. The denial might serve to protect the subject from legal action as well as from the psychological impact of admitting such a crime. One murderer interviewed denied any actual knowledge of committing the crime. He stated that he was coerced, forced to confess to the crimes, and possibly drugged before entering a plea of guilty. In the interview with the

"One reason a murderer may not be able to admit the crime is that admission would destroy his premise of justification."

Agents, he had an elaborate answer for each piece of evidence presented. He said friends had given him the 100 pairs of high-heeled shoes in his closet. He argued that photographs found in his possession were not his, because he would not be such a sloppy photographer. He presented extreme detail for each piece of evidence brought against him to "prove" why he could not have been the murderer.

There also may be cases where the murderer justifies in his own mind the issue of admitting or denying guilt. The following statement from a serial murderer illustrates this position:

> Agent: Could the police have done anything for you in order to get a confession?
> Subject: Well, at first I didn't admit my guilt. I wouldn't admit to anybody. But I didn't really deny either.

We found that when someone outright denied they had murdered or had anything to do with the crime, the use of an imaginary third person was helpful. The Agents would go through the details of the crime and ask the subject why he thought this third person would commit such an act. This technique projected responsibility or guilt away from the subject and onto someone else. Note this strategy in the following interview by the Agents with a murderer:

> Agent: Suppose we do it this way. Let's just divorce you from that situation. I'm sure you've thought about it alot. Suppose it wasn't you involved and it was someone else. What, in your mind, would be the reasons for someone doing something like that?
> Subject: I'd say she either said or did something extremely wrong.
> Agent: Like what, for instance?
> Subject: Well, it could have been that his [sexual] performance was inadequate. She might have thought it was. Or he might have thought it was and she said something about it.

This conversation illustrates that the murderer was able to provide a reason (sexual inadequacy) for the crime being committed and suggests that the intent to kill was triggered into action through an internal dialog process within the offender.

Often someone who denies justifies his or her actions by blaming someone else. In our study, for example, a murderer justified his killing by describing the victim as a "tramp." One reason a murderer may not be able to admit the crime is that admission would destroy his premise of justification.

Obtaining information from suspects is a critical technique for law enforcement. Well-developed skills in interviewing can provide important information, which can be linked with crime scene data. Through the use of various interviewing techniques, the investigation can receive maximum benefit from the interview process. Interview techniques discussed in this article have given members of the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit new insight for tapping into the fantasy systems of these criminals and for effectively dealing with their defenses.

FBI

. . . and a picture that includes a house and a tree.

The Lust Murderer

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On August 29, 1975, the nude, mutilated body of a 25-year-old mother of two was found near Columbia, S.C. Both breasts had been removed, the reproductive system had been displaced, numerous cut and stab wounds were evidenced by the body, and there was indication of anthropophagy.[1]

This was the scene of a lust murder, one of the most heinous crimes committed by man. While not a common occurrence, it is one which frightens and arouses the public as does no other crime.

Of primary concern are those factors which differentiate the lust murder from the more common sadistic homicide, physical evidence present at the scene which may assist in determining the responsible individual(s), and possible personality characteristics of the murderer. It is not the authors' contention that the material presented is applicable to all such crimes or their perpetrators, but rather that the majority of the crimes and offenders involved will exhibit the characteristics set forth. The data presented here have not been quantified, but are based upon the authors' examination of case reports, interviews with investigative personnel, and a careful review of the literature. Minor variations of the terms used may occur, depending on the source of reference.

It is the authors' contention that the lust murder is unique and is distinguished from the sadistic homicide by the involvement of a mutilating attack or displacement of the breasts, rectum, or genitals. Further, while there are always exceptions, basically two types of individuals commit the lust murder. These individuals will be labeled as the Organized Nonsocial and the Disorganized Asocial personalities.

The Organized Nonsocial

The organized nonsocial (nonsocial) lust murderer exhibits complete indifference to the interests and welfare of society and displays an irresponsible and self-centered attitude. While disliking people in general, he does not avoid them. Instead, he is capable of displaying an amiable facade for as long as it takes to manipulate people toward his own personal goal. He is a methodical and cunning individual, as demonstrated in the perpetration of his crime. He is fully cognizant of the criminality of his act and its impact on society, and it is for this reason that he commits the crime. He generally lives some distance from the crime scene and will cruise, seeking a victim. Dr. Robert P. Brittain, author of "The Sadistic Murderer," has stated, "They (sadistic murderers) are excited by cruelty, whether in books or in films, in fact or fantasy." [2]

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The Disorganized Asocial

The disorganized asocial (asocial) lust murderer exhibits primary characteristics of societal aversion. This individual prefers his own company to that of others and would be typified as a loner. He experiences difficulty in negotiating interpersonal relationships and consequently feels rejected and lonely. He lacks the cunning of the nonsocial type and commits the crime in a more frenzied and less methodical manner. The crime is likely to be committed in close proximity to his residence or place of employment, where he feels secure and more at ease.

The Crime

The lust murder is premeditated in the obsessive fantasies of the perpetrator. Yet, the killer may act on the "spur-of-the-moment" when the opportunity presents itself. That is to say, the murderer has precisely planned the crime in his fantasies, but has not consciously decided to act out those fantasies until the moment of the crime. Consequently, the victim is typically unknown to the killer, a fact borne out by the cases studied by the authors.

The location of the victim's body may be indicative of the type of murderer involved. Typically, the asocial type leaves the body at the scene of death, and while the location is not open to the casual observer, there has been no attempt to conceal the body. Conversely, the nonsocial type commits the crime in a secluded or isolated location and may later transport it to an area where it is likely to be found.

While there may be no conscious intent to be arrested, the nonsocial type wants the excitement derived from the publicity about the body's discovery and its impact on the victim's community.

The lust murder is committed in a brutally sadistic manner. While the victim may be either male or female, the crime is predominantly heterosexual and intraracial in nature. The victim's body exhibits gross mutilation and/or displacement of the breasts, rectum, or genitals and may have been subjected to excessive stabbing or slashing with a sharp instrument. The victim's death typically occurs shortly following abduction or attack, and the mutilation that takes place follows death. Dr. J. Paul de River notes in his book, *Crime and the Sexual Psychopath:*

> "The lust murderer, usually, after killing his victim, tortures, cuts, maims or slashes the victim in the regions on or about the genitalia, rectum, breast in the female, and about the neck, throat and buttocks, as usually these parts contain strong sexual significance to him, and serve as sexual stimulus." [3]

If, however, there is physical or medical evidence indicating the victim was subjected to torture or mutilation prior to death, this factor indicates that the perpetrator was the nonsocial rather than the asocial type.

Seldom will the lust murderer use a firearm to kill, for he experiences too little psychosexual gratification with such an impersonal weapon. Most frequently, death results from strangulation, blunt force, or the use of a pointed, sharp instrument. The asocial type is more prone to use a weapon of opportunity and may leave it at the scene, while the nonsocial type may carry the murder weapon with him and take it when departing the scene. Therefore, the murderer's choice of weapon and its proximity to the scene can be greatly significant to the investigation.

Dr. de River comments that the instrument itself may be symbolic to the murderer and he may place it in a position near the victim. This is a form of pride and exhibitionistic behavior and can be sexually gratifying to him. [4]

The investigator may find that the victim has been bitten on the breasts, buttocks, neck, abdomen, thighs, or genitals, as these body areas have sexual associations. Limb or breast amputation, or in some instances total dissection, may have taken place. Dissection of the victim's body, when committed by the nonsocial type, may be an attempt to hinder the identification of the victim. The asocial individual approaches his victim in much the same way as an inquisitive child with a new toy. He involves himself in an exploratory examination of the sexually significant parts of the body in an attempt to determine how they function and appear beneath the surface.

"The lust murder is premeditated in the obsessive fantasies of the perpetrator."

Occasionally, it will be noted that the murderer has smeared the victim's blood on himself, the victim, or the surface on which the body rests. This activity is more frequently associated with the asocial type and relates to the uncontrollable frenzy of the attack.

Penis penetration of the victim is not to be expected from the asocial individual, but is predominantly associated with the nonsocial type, even to the extent of "necrophilia." [5] These activities on the nonsocial's part reflect his desire to outrage society and call attention to his total disdain for societal acceptance. The asocial type more commonly inserts foreign objects into the body orifaces in a probing and curiosity-motivated, yet brutal, manner. Evidence of ejaculation may be found on or near the victim or her clothing.

Frequently, the murderer will take a "souvenir," normally an object or article of clothing belonging to the victim, but occasionally it may be a more personal reminder of the encounter—a finger, a lock of hair, or a part of the body with sexual association. The souvenir is taken to enable the murderer to relive the scene in later fantasies. The killer here is acting out his fantasy, and complete possession of the victim is part of that fantasy. As previously mentioned, the perpetrator may commit an anthropophagic act and such an act is indicative of asocial involvement.

Finally, the scene itself will exhibit much less physical evidence when the murderer is the nonsocial type. As stated, the individual categorized as the nonsocial type is very cunning and more methodical than the asocial type, who commits a more frenzied assault. It is interesting to note, however, that both types may be compelled to return to the scene, albeit for different reasons. While the asocial type may return to engage in further mutilation or to relive the experience, the nonsocial type returns to determine if the body has been discovered and to check on the progress of the investigation. Instances have occurred when the nonsocial type changed the body's location to insure its discovery.

Of interest is the almost obsessive desire of the nonsocial type to assess the police investigation, even to the extent of frequenting police "hangouts" to eavesdrop on discussions of unsolved crimes, or in some manner, inserting himself into the investigation. In one case, the murderer returned to the scene after it had been examined by police laboratory technicians and deposited articles of clothing worn by the victim on the day she died. In both of two other cases, the killer visited the cemetery site of the victim and left articles belonging to the victim on her grave. It is as though he were involved in a "game" with the authorities. Such actions appear to further his "will to power" [6] or desire to control.

Portrait of the Lust Murderer

What set of circumstances create the individual who becomes the lust murderer? The authors do not possess the expertise to explain the multiple and complex casual factors associated with the psychological development of the individual who commits such a heinous crime. But, it is generally accepted that the foundation of the personality is formed within the first few years of life. While extreme stress, frequent narcotic use, or alcohol abuse can cause personality disorganization in later life, it is the early years that are critical to the personality structure and development.

Seldom does the lust murderer come from an environment of love and understanding. It is more likely that he was an abused or neglected child who experienced a great deal of conflict in his early life and was unable to develop and use adequate coping devices (i.e. defense mechanisms). Had he been able to do so, he would have withstood the stresses placed on him and developed normally in early childhood. It must be emphasized that many individuals are raised in environments not conducive to healthy psychological development, yet they become productive citizens. These stresses, frustrations, and subsequent anxieties, along with the inability to cope with them, may lead the individual to withdraw from the society which he perceives as hostile and threatening.

Through this internalization process, he becomes secluded and isolated from others and may eventually select suicide as an alternative to a life of loneliness and frustration. The authors have designated this reaction to life as disorganized asocial. This type possesses a poor self-image and secretly rejects the society which he feels rejects him. Family and associates would describe him a nice, quiet person who keeps to himself, but who never quite realized his potential. During adolescence, he may have engaged in voyeuristic activities or the theft of feminine clothing. Such activities serve as a substitute for his inability to approach women sexually in a mature and confident manner.

The individual designated by the authors as the organized nonsocial type harbors similar feelings of hostility, but elects not to withdraw and internalize his hostility. Rather, he overtly expresses it through aggressive and seemingly senseless acts against society. Typically, he begins to demonstrate his hostility as he passes through puberty and into adolescence. He would be described as a troublemaker and a manipulator of people, concerned only for himself. He experiences difficulties with family, friends,

"The lust murder is committed in a brutally sadistic manner."

and "authority figures" through antisocial acts which may include homicide. Thomas Strentz and Conrad Hassel, in the June 1978 issue of *Journal of Police Science and Administration,* wrote of a youth who had first murdered at the age of 15 and was committed to a mental institution. After his release, he murdered and dismembered eight women. [7] It is the nonsocial's aim to get even with society and inflict pain and punishment upon others.

The Role of Fantasy

As noted, the lust murder is premeditated in obsessive fantasies experienced by both the asocial and nonsocial murderers. Fantasy provides them an avenue of escape from a world of hate and rejection. Dr. James J. Reinhardt in his book, *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes,* has written:

> "A study of these cases almost invariably reveals a long struggle against what Reik calls the 'forward thrust.' By fantasy the murderer attempts to wall himself in against the fatal act, while at the same time gratifying the compulsive psychic demands in the development and use of *fantasy.* These sadistic [fantasies] seem always to have preceded the brutal act of *lust* murder. These *fantasies* take all sorts of grotesque and cruel forms. The pervert, on this level of degeneracy, may resort to pornographic pictures, grotesque and cruel literary episodes, out of which he weaves fantasies. On these, his imagination dwells until he loses all contact with reality, only to find himself suddenly impelled to carry his fantasies into the world of actuality. This is done, apparently, by drawing human objects into the *fantasy.*" [8]

James Russell Odom, tried and convicted with James Clayton Lawson for the brutal lust murder described at the beginning of this article, stated that while he and Lawson were at a mental institution, they would express their fantasies about women:

> "(Odom) raping them and Lawson mutilating them . . . (we had fantasized so much that at times I didn't know what was real." [9]

If he acts out the fantasy (commits the crime), his goal will be to destroy the victim and thereby become the sole possessor. James Lawson (mentioned above) is quoted as saying:

> "Then I cut her throat so she would not scream. . . . at this time I wanted to cut her body so she would not look like a person and destroy her so she would not exist. I began to cut on her body. I remember cutting her breasts off. After this, all I remember is that I kept cutting on her body." [10]

The victim may represent something he desires sexually, but is unable to approach. Lawson speaks again, "I did not rape the girl. I only wanted to destroy her." [11]

Rarely encountered is the asocial type who is capable of normal heterosexual relationships. He may desire such relationships, but he also fears them. Dr. Reinhardt, on an interview with a famous lust murderer, wrote:

> ". . . he at first denied ever attempting any sex play with girls. Two days later with one of his rare shows of emotion he said, looking much ashamed, that twice, later correcting himself to eight times, he had touched girls 'on the breasts' and then pressed 'on the leg.' Always having done this, he would immediately burst into tears and 'be upset and unable to sleep'." [12]

The Psychological Profile

A psychological profile is an educated attempt to provide investigative agencies with specific information as to the type of individual who committed a certain crime. It must be clearly stated at the outset that what can be done in this area is limited, and prescribed investigative procedures should not be suspended, altered, or replaced by receipt of a profile. Rather, the material provided should be considered and employed as another investigative tool. The process is an art and not a science, and while it may be applicable to many types of investigations, its use is restricted primarily to crimes of violence or potential violence.

When prepared by the FBI, the profile may include the perpetrator's age, race, sex, socioeconomic and marital status, educational level, arrest history, location of residence in relation to the scene, and certain personality traits.

A profile is based on characteristic patterns or factors of uniqueness that distinguish certain individuals from the general population. In the case of lust murder, clues to those factors of uniqueness are found on the victim's body and at the scene and would include the amount and location of mutilation involved, type of weapon used, cause of death, and the position of the body. The profiler is searching for clues which indicate the probable personality configuration of the responsible individual.

"The location of the victim's body may be indicative of the type of murderer involved."

In preparing the profile, it is preferable to have access to the scene prior to its disturbance. In most instances, this is impossible. In lieu of being at the scene, the profiler must be provided investigative reports, autopsy protocols, detailed photographs of the body, scene, and surrounding area, as well as a map depicting the victim's last known location in relation to its present location and any known information pertaining to the victim and her activities.

There are violent crimes in which there is an absence of uniqueness; therefore, it is not possible to provide a profile. However, this is not likely to occur in the case of a lust murder.

Summary

While not a common occurrence, the lust murder frightens and arouses the public as does no other crime. The lust murder involves the death and subsequent mutilating attack of the breasts, rectum, and genital areas of the victim. The crime is typically heterosexual and intraracial in nature and is committed by one of two types of individuals: The disorganized asocial personality, or the organized nonsocial personality.

The organized nonsocial type feels rejection by and hatred for the society in which he lives. His hostile feelings are manifested overtly, and the lust murder is the final expression of the hatred he feels. The disorganized asocial type also feels rejection and hatred for his world, but withdraws and internalizes his feelings, living within a world of fantasy until he acts out that fantasy with his victim.

While commonalities exist in the commission of the lust murder, there are certain factors which may indicate the personality type involved. These factors include the location of the body, evidence of torture or mutilation having occurred prior to death, smearing of the victim's blood, evidence of penis penetration or anthropophagy, and the availability of physical evidence at the scene.

The crime is premeditated in the obsessive fantasies experienced by both the asocial and the nonsocial types, yet it is a crime of opportunity, one in which the victim is not usually known to the murderer.

The use of psychological profiling in such crimes may be of assistance in determining the personality type involved. It is a search for clues indicating the probable personality configuration of the responsible individual(s). It is a useful tool, but must not alter, suspend, or replace prescribed investigative procedures. **FBI**

Footnotes

[1] Anthropophagy: Consuming the victim's flesh or blood.

[2] Robert P. Brittain, "The Sadistic Murderer," *Medical Science and the Law*, vol. IV (1970), p. 202.

[3] J. Paul de River, *Crime and the Sexual Psychopath* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1950), p. 40.

[4] J. Paul de River, *The Sexual Criminal* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1950), p. 233.

[5] Necrophilia: A desire for relations with the dead.

[6] Calvin S. Hall and Lindsey Gardner, *Theories of Personality*, 2d ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970).

[7] Thomas Strentz and Conrad V. Hassel, "The Sociopath—A Criminal Enigma," *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, (June 1978).

[8] James J. Reinhardt, *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1957), pp. 208-209.

[9] Statement of Odom as reported by *The Record* (newspaper) April 7, 1976, 1-A.

[10] Statement made to South Carolina law enforcement authorities by James Clayton Lawson on September 3, 1975.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Reinhardt, pp. 221-222.

Rape and Rape-Murder: One Offender and Twelve Victims

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Rape and Rape-Murder: One Offender and Twelve Victims

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This study analyzes data pertaining to 12 rapes and rape-murders committed by one male adolescent offender over a 4-year period. All offenses except the first were committed while the offender was under psychiatric and probationary supervision. The use or relinquishment of violence by the offender was found to be dependent on subtle interpersonal factors. The authors stress the importance of the use of crime scene data and interviews of patients who have committed sex crimes, the role of psychological profiles in apprehension of suspects, and the contribution of law enforcement as a data resource.
(Am J Psychiatry 140:36–40, 1983)

Rape-murder, a crime of increasing concern in our society, results from one person killing another in the context of power, sexuality, and brutality. Although the literature is replete with reports on the murderer, it is relatively silent on the victim. This omission from the clinical literature significantly impedes our understanding of the possible variables in a rape assault and handicaps our progress in victimology. To contribute to the study of rape-murder, we report on 12 rapes committed by a male teenager over a 4-year period in which 5 of his victims were murdered following the rape.

PROFILE OF THE OFFENDER

The offender, born 24 years ago in the Midwest, was the youngest of 3 children and had an older adopted brother and natural sister. It is reported that he was an Rh baby and required a complete blood transfusion at birth. He has reportedly suffered no major health problems. The parents separated and divorced when he was age 7, and both parents remarried shortly thereafter. He continued to live with his mother even though her second marriage dissolved when he was 12. He completed age-level work until his senior year in high school, when he was involuntarily withdrawn from school due to excessive absenteeism and lack of progress.

He was of average intelligence and had aspired to attend college. He was athletically inclined and played league baseball. He was outgoing, often attended social events, and had a close circle of friends, both male and female. He saw himself as a leader, not a follower.

The offender's antisocial behavior was first recorded when he was age 9, when he and 3 other boys were caught by the school principal writing cusswords on the sidewalk. The boys were required to wash the sidewalk until the words were removed. His criminal record started when he was age 12 with assaultive and disruptive behavior involving breaking into an apartment and stealing property valued at $100. At age 13 he was charged with driving without an operator's license; at age 14 he was charged with burglary and rape and committed 2 minor acts of petty larceny as well as stealing a car. He readily admitted using alcohol and drugs of all types from his early teen years. He worked sporadically throughout his high school years as part of a program whereby he attended school in the morning and worked in the afternoon.

The offender was sent out of state to a psychiatric residential facility following the first felony of rape and burglary at age 14. During his 18-month stay he received individual insight-oriented psychotherapy, and the discharge recommendation was that he live at home, attend public school, and continue psychotherapy on a weekly outpatient basis, with his mother actively involved in his treatment. Three weeks after returning home from the residential facility he was charged with attempted armed robbery—an act intended to be rape. It took 1 year for him to come before a judge for sentencing on this charge, and in that time he had committed the first rape and murder but had not yet been charged for that offense. The disposition on the attempted armed robbery was probation and outpatient psychotherapy; he had served 8 months when he was apprehended for the 5 murders. His psychiatric diagnoses according to *DSM-II* have included adolescent adjustment reaction, character disorder without psychosis, and multiple personality. At the time of his arrest for the murders the young man was 19 years old, weighed 65 kg, and was 170 cm tall. He was given 5 life sentences for the 5 rape-murders. After 2 years of incarceration, he admitted to 6 additional rapes for which he was never charged.

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PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS

All of the 12 victims were female, and they represented different ethnic groups. They ranged in age from 17 to 34 years and were older than the offender by 1 to 15 years. Several victims were taller and heavier than the offender. Nine of them were total strangers to him; he knew 3 by sight. Two of the 9 women who were strangers to him recognized him after his capture. Most of the victims were of middle-income status, and the majority lived in the apartment complex where the offender lived with his mother. All of the victims except 1 high school student were employed full-time and worked in such positions as teachers, postal supervisors, store buyers, airline stewardesses, and administrative assistants. Some of them also had part-time jobs and/or were continuing their college education. Most of the victims were not married; several were divorced. Two were known to have children. Five of the women were raped and murdered; 5 were raped only by the offender; and 2 were gang raped. One escaped from the offender before he could commit a sex crime. Most of the victims were approached at knife point as they entered the elevator in their apartment building. All rape-murder victims were abducted from the same location, killed in different areas, and found fully clothed. The time spent in locating their bodies ranged from 1 day to 6 weeks.

DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected in two ways: through interviews with the offender and completion of an interview guide and through the use of police reports, court evaluation records, photographs of crime scene investigations, and medical examiners' reports. An obvious limitation to the interviews was having to rely on the offender's memory and reconstruction of the crimes. This bias was countered with documentation from prison and court records. On the other hand, the offender's admission of 6 additional rapes adds to the data not available through official channels. Another methodological drawback was that the information on what victims said and did came from the offender.

FINDINGS

The analysis of the data suggests that the offender's criminal behavior changed in two major ways: The sexual aggression escalated from rape to rape and murder, and the offenses increased in frequency over time (see table 1). Of special note are the facts that 1) all rape and murder offenses except the first were committed while he was under psychiatric supervision and on probation, 2) the 6 rapes that were not charged to him were also committed while he was under psychiatric supervision and on probation, and 3) the 5 homicides were not linked to one offender and did not appear to include rape until he was apprehended and described the offenses.

TABLE 1. Escalation of the Criminal Behavior of an Adolescent Boy

Boy's Age (years)	Offense	Victim's Age (years)	Disposition
12	Petty larceny		Probation
12	Disrupting school		Probation
13	Driving without an operator's license		Case continued until his 18th birthday
14	Burglary and rape	25	Sent to state psychiatric center
14	Petty larceny		Sent to state psychiatric center
14	Breaking and entering		Sent to state psychiatric center
16	Rape	25	Never charged
16	Rape	25	Never charged
16	Burglary and rape (codefendant)	17	Never charged
16	Rape (codefendant)	25	Never charged
17	Attempted armed robbery	22	Probation and outpatient therapy
18	Rape	25	Never charged
18	Rape and murder	24	Life imprisonment
19	Rape and murder	22	Life imprisonment
19	Rape and murder	34	Life imprisonment
19	Rape	25	Never charged
19	Rape and murder	27	Life imprisonment
19	Rape and murder	24	Life imprisonment

Rape and Intended Rape: The First 7 Offenses

The first rape with which the offender was charged, when he was 14, occurred in the apartment next to where he lived with his mother. He had returned home from a party and had gone to bed but woke up fantasizing about the 25-year-old divorced neighbor woman who often employed him for small errands. He got up, went outside wearing a ski mask, scaled the apartment wall like a "cat burglar," and entered the woman's third-floor apartment through the balcony door. He raped the woman several times, left through the front door, returned to his own apartment, and went to sleep. He was apprehended 3 weeks later and was eventually convicted on the basis of evidence found in the apartment (i.e., fingerprints and clothing) rather than the victim's identification of him. A woman judge sentenced him to an out-of-state psychiatric residential facility.

The second rape (the first one with which he was never charged) occurred when he was 16 and home from the residential facility for Christmas vacation. The evening before he returned to the facility, he approached a woman in the elevator in the apartment complex and at knife point took her to another location and raped her. The second rape with which he was never charged (third in the sequence) occurred 3 months later when he approached a woman in the parking lot of a local school he attended while at the

residential facility. He forced the woman at knife point to drive to her apartment, where he raped her. The third and fourth rapes with which he was never charged included codefendants. While on a weekend pass, the offender and 2 other patients from the residential facility stole a car, traveled out of state, broke into a house, stole 2 guns and money, and each raped a 17-year-old girl who was in the house. The offender returned home; however, his mother immediately sent him back to the residential facility and he was counseled on his runaway behavior. Three months later he and another patient went to a local swimming pool. They broke into the women's locker room and raped a young woman, covering her head with a towel.

The sixth rape (the fifth for which he was never charged) occurred before the first rape-murder he committed and involved a woman he had seen in his own apartment building. He obtained an air pistol, captured her in the apartment elevator, took her to a storage room, and, covering her face with her jacket, raped her twice.

An attempted armed robbery (an act intended to be rape) occurred 3 weeks after his release from the residential treatment facility. He targeted a woman entering the elevator of the apartment complex, donned a ski mask, and held a knife to her. She was successful in escaping.

> She broke . . . pushed me out of the way and started going to the front of the elevator, pushed the button to open the door and started to run and she stumbled. I'd started to run after her and stumbled over her and at that point the knife fell and she was on the ground hollering and I was on the ground next to her, scared to death. My mind went blank. I ran out of the building. [He was subsequently arrested.]

Rape and Murder: The Last 6 Offenses

The offender selected the last 6 victims at random as he watched cars drive into the apartment complex where he lived. Once he targeted a victim, he would walk behind her, follow her into the apartment elevator, pull his knife, and tell her it was a holdup. Then they would leave the building, either for the victim's car or for an area near the apartment complex. In one case the pattern was reversed. The offender was hitchhiking and was given a ride by a woman who was going to a party in his apartment complex. She let him off at his building; he watched her park her car and then ran across the complex, entered the elevator with her, and captured her there. All abductions and murders occurred within his own territory. Thus, known territory was a distinct advantage for him. ("Going somewhere that I didn't know or where the cops patrolled might get me caught. I knew what time the cops came by in the morning because I'd be sitting there.") Indeed, he was right. One of the reasons he was not caught until after the fifth murder was that the police were looking for strangers—especially suspicious strangers—not a teenager living in the area.

The offender's use of either verbal or physical strategies to assert control over the victim depended on the victim's initial response. The victim who was compliant when he showed a weapon received no additional threats or orders. Victims who screamed received verbal threats, and those who refused to cooperate were physically struck.

Interaction Between Offender and Victim

Reconstruction of the victims' talk and actions as viewed from the offender's perspective revealed that conversation and behavior served to either neutralize or escalate his affective state.

Murder victim 1, rape victim 7. The woman's talk ("She asked which way I wanted it") raised the offender's suspicion of her life style. After the rape and while both were dressing, he had not decided on his next action. The woman's sudden attempt to escape triggered in him feelings of anger and frustration that resulted in increased aggression. He stated:

> She took off running down the ravine. That's when I grabbed her. I had her in an armlock. She was bigger than me. I started choking her . . . she stumbled . . . we rolled down the hill and into the water. I banged her head against the side of a rock and held her head under water.

Death was determined to be from strangulation.

Murder victim 2, rape victim 8. The woman's talk consisted of many questions ("She wanted to know why I wanted to do this; why I picked her; didn't I have a girl friend; what was my problem; what I was going to do"), which served to annoy him. The woman, talking while driving the car, suddenly stepped on the accelerator and attempted to counter his control by threatening to drive the car into a tree. He turned off the ignition and put his foot on the brake, and the car slid sideways. The car stopped, and the woman got out and ran across the road screaming for help. He said:

> I go into the woods after her. I see her run from behind a tree and that's when I go after her. From then on I knew I had to kill her. She trips over a log and that's when I catch up with her and I just start stabbing her.

The victim was stabbed 14 times in the chest.

Murder victim 3, rape victim 9. The offender claimed he had not decided whether he would kill this woman. He would not let her talk ("The more I got to know about the women the softer I got"). He ordered her to be quiet and turn on the radio. He described his thinking as follows:

> I was thinking . . . I've killed two. I might as well kill this one, too. . . . Something in me was wanting to kill. . . . I tied her up with her stockings and I started to walk away . . . then I heard her through the woods kind of rolling around and making muffled sounds. And I turned back and said, "No, I have to kill her. I've got to do this to preserve and protect myself."

The woman died from 21 stab wounds to the left side of the thorax and upper abdomen.

Rape victim 10. The offender had decided to kill this woman, but her talking saved her life ("She told me her father was dying of cancer"). Her talk evidently neutralized his aggression due to his identification with the situation ("I thought of my own brother who had cancer. I couldn't kill her. She had it bad already"). He threw her car keys out of the window and ran off into the woods.

Murder victim 4, rape victim 11. The offender had decided to kill this woman. Her resistance and attempt to escape triggered his violence.

> She scratched me across the face. I got mad; she started to run. I got up from falling down and chased her. She ran into a tree. I caught her. We wrestled, rolled over the embankment into the water. I landed with my face in the water. . . . That's where the idea to drown her came. . . . She was fighting and she was strong but I put her head under the water and just sat there with my hands on her neck.

The cause of death was drowning.

Murder victim 5, rape victim 12. This woman's talk led the offender to realize that she knew him. This knowledge escalated his fear of being apprehended and, in turn, led him to confess the 4 previous murders. The decision to kill was made quickly.

> We were walking along, through the culverts, underneath the highway. That's when I pulled out the knife and without even saying anything, I stabbed her . . . maybe 50–100 times.

He buried the victim's body in a shallow grave.

Behavior Following the Murders

Following each murder, the offender would usually take an item of jewelry from the woman's body for a souvenir, go back to the woman's car and search through her purse for money, drive her car for an extended period of time, park the car several blocks from his apartment, return to his apartment and go to bed, and watch television and newspapers for reports about the discovery of the body.

DISCUSSION

Psychodynamics of Rape-Murder

Some reports have suggested that rapists rarely murder (1) but that when they do, the motives are social rather than personal; that is, they murder to silence the victim and prevent detection (2). This motive differs from lust-murder, whereby sexuality and aggression fuse into a single psychological experience known as sadism (3). Rada (4) argued, and we agree, that rapists are capable of murder but for different reasons than the lust-murderer. One reason, Rada suggested, is that in some rapists there appears to be a progressive increase in aggressive fantasies about women that over time may eventually lead to murder.

The case we have reported suggests that for some rapists there is a progression in the offender's *intent* or decision making toward killing. With the first 3 murders the offender made the decision to kill the women during the period he interacted with them, but in the last 2 murders, he decided ahead of time to kill them. This case also suggests an additional dimension to motive in rape-murder. The modern view of rape regards it as an act of violence expressing power as one motive (5). We suggest that the psychological motive of power expands for the rapist-murderer from a need for power over one person ("It was a real turn on to realize the victims weren't reporting or identifying me") to a need for power over a collective group ("I'm too slick for them") that included the police, judges, psychiatrists, and psychologists.

This case illustrates the influence of an individual's affective state when combined with various degrees of intent to commit murder. A review of the offender's last 6 offenses suggests that 2 affective states may influence the decision to kill: Escalating the anger motive in the rapist may trigger aggressive behavior aimed at establishing dominance and authority, and stimulating fear and decreasing the power motive in the rapist may trigger aggressive behavior aimed at self-preservation (5).

Interviewing Patients Charged with Crimes

The fact that the offender was under psychiatric supervision when he committed most of his criminal acts suggests that close attention be paid to psychiatric interviewing techniques. We offer the following two suggestions.

1. When interviewing a patient who has been charged with crimes, one should pay careful attention to the deviant behavior and focus on all dimensions of the interactional aspects of the crime. If possible, and if it is within agency policy, one should gather supplementary data regarding the crime scene, the victim's statements, police interviews, and official reports and talk with staff who have worked with the patient. These corroborating data will lend a perspective other than the patient's for assessment of and challenge to the patient. The interviewer should maintain a high index of suspicion when the patient denies committing or refuses to talk about the crime or deviant behavior and should consider the possibility that he or she is concealing other secretive and dangerous behavior. A parallel can be drawn between the dynamics of sex and secrecy (6) and incest and treatment.

2. Rape and attempted rape behavior should be viewed as serious and chronic and thus repetitive. The interviewer should not assume that a patient with a history of sexual assault has committed it only the number of times for which he or she is charged. When

the patient has been under stress and especially at times when he or she has been charged with other criminal acts (e.g., breaking and entering, stealing cars, larceny), the interviewer should inquire about concurrent assaultive behavior or rape fantasies. Our findings support those from Groth and associates' study (7) of convicted sex offenders recommended for treatment. Those authors reported that each offender had committed an average of 5 sexual assaults for which he was never apprehended.

Psychological Profiles

The fact that a psychiatrist wrote a psychological profile of the offender we have described suggests the need for further work in this area. The psychological profile is a critical technique in police work on unsolved crimes. In a comparison of the profile with the data obtained from the offender, two points can be made. First, no one speculated that the murder victims had been raped. The fact that they all were found fully clothed and without clinical evidence of sexual intercourse made the cases seem not sexually related. The offender admitted raping the victims several times. The possibility that he had a sexual dysfunction—retarded ejaculation—was never considered (8). Second, the profile report speculated that because he targeted women and used their underwear to bind them, he felt hostility toward his mother. Interview data suggested another authority figure in his life:

> That woman judge sent me to a diagnostic center. That's what started me off resenting authority. . . . Nobody could tell me what to do or when to do it or how to do it.

CONCLUSIONS

Gaps do exist in fully understanding a criminal act in general, and a sexual homicide in particular, because each of the various professionals and disciplines involved work with only one part of the picture. Cooperation through sharing information and collaborating on cases is often not practiced in the work setting. We undertook this study to address this gap in the transfer and sharing of criminal data. Frazier (9) encouraged the research step of developing descriptive patterns of murder as human action, with the caution to avoid simple, reductionistic conclusions about the causes of murder. We agree with this position and encourage studies across disciplines.

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